

W^m Henry Finlay

THE

ESSAYS

OF

Michael Seigneur de Montaigne, *K*

Translated into ENGLISH.

The EIGHTH EDITION,

With very considerable

AMENDMENTS and IMPROVEMENTS,

From the most accurate and elegant *French* Edition of

PETER COSTE.

In FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

Printed for JAMES POTTS, at *Swift's Head*, in *Dame-street*.

M.DCC.LX.

MONTAIGNE'S PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

THIS, reader, is a book altogether without guile. It tells thee at the entrance of it, that I had no view in publishing it, but what was domestick and private. I have had no regard in it, either to thy service, or my own glory: my abilities are not equal to the execution of such a design. I have devoted it to the particular benefit of my kindred and friends, to the end, that when they have lost me, (which they will do very soon) they may there retrace some of my qualities and humours, and consequently that their remembrance of me may be preserved more lively and intire. If it had been to court the favour of the publick, I should have adorned myself with borrowed beauties: but I am desirous to appear in my plain, natural, ordinary dress, without study and artifice; for it is my own dear self that I paint. My faults will appear here to the life, together with my imperfections, and my native form; as far as a respect to the publick has permitted me. And if I had dwelt in those nations which are said to live still under the sweet liberty of the primitive laws of nature, I assure thee, I should gladly have drawn my own portrait at full length, and quite naked. Thus, reader, I am myself the subject of my own book; a subject too vain and frivolous to take up even thy spare time.

Montaigne,
June 12, 1580.

Adieu therefore.



THE

T H E
P R E F A C E,
T O T H E

Eighth *English* Edition of MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYS.

THESE Essays were first done into English, in the year 1603, by Mr. Florio*, but they were much better translated in the reign of K. Charles II. by Charles Cotton, esq; (famous for his witty poetry on the Wonders of the Peak,) and George Savil marquis of Hallifax, then lord privy seal, and afterwards president of the council, to whom that translation was dedicated, honoured it with his special approbation, by the following letter to the translator, at his house at Berisford, in Derbyshire.

S I R,

‘ I have too long delayed my thanks to you for giving
‘ me such an obliging evidence of your remembrance :
‘ that alone would have been a welcome present ; but
‘ when joined with the book in the world I am best en-
‘ tertained with, it raiseth a strong desire in me to be
‘ better known, where I am sure to be so much pleased.
‘ I have ’till now, thought wit could not be translated,
‘ and do still retain so much of that opinion, that I believe
‘ it impossible, except by one whose genius cometh up to
‘ that of the author. You have the original strength of
‘ his thought, that it almost tempts a man to believe the
A 2 trans-

* This Gentleman, whose ancestors were the Florii of Sienna in Tuscany, was for some time a teacher at Magdalen college, in the university of Oxford ; and, after king James the first came to the crown, was appointed tutor to prince Henry, in the Italian and French tongues ; and compiled a dictionary, Italian and English, which was first printed at London, in 1597. Having lived to a good old age, he died at Fulham, of the plague, in 1625.

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' transmigration of souls, and that his being used to hills,
' is come into the moor-lands, to reward us here in
' England, for doing him more right than his country
' will afford him. He hath by your means, mended his
' first edition. To transplant and make him ours, is not
' only a valuable acquisition to us, but a just censure of
' the critical impertinence of those French scriblers, who
' have taken pains to make little cavils and exceptions
' to lessen the reputation of this great man, whom nature
' hath made too big to confine him to the exactness
' of a studied stile. He let his mind have its full flight,
' and sheweth, by a generous kind of negligence, that he
' did not write for praise, but to give the world a true
' picture of himself, and of mankind. He scorned affected
' periods, or to please the mistaken reader with an
' empty chime of words. He hath no affection to set
' himself out, and dependeth wholly upon the natural
' force of what is his own, and the excellent application
' of what he borroweth.

' You see, sir, I have kindness enough for Monsieur
' de Montaigne to be your rival; but no-body can now
' pretend to be in equal competition with you: I do
' willingly yield it is no small matter for a man, to do to
' a more prosperous lover; and if you will repay this
' piece of justice with another, pray believe, that he who
' can translate such an author without doing him
' wrong, must not only make me glad, but proud of being his

Very humble Servant,

H A L L I F A X.

To the commendation of Montaigne, and his ingenious translator, by so great a man, it will be needless to add more; but it may be presumed the reader will here expect to be satisfied, wherein this is so much preferable to any of the former editions in English.

Mr. Cotton indeed succeeded to a miracle in his translation of so celebrated a piece: and we are thoroughly persuaded that very few Frenchmen, except perhaps some natives of Guienne, were they to undertake the task,
would

The P R E F A C E.

would find themselves capable of turning Montaigne's essays into modern French, with the same spirit, and the same justice to the author; but yet our translator was far from infallible. He had certainly one of the most difficult books in the world to struggle with, as he complained himself in his preface, when he says, 'the language of his original, was in many places so ungrammatical and abstruse, that though he understood French as well as any man, he had sometimes been forced to grope for his meaning.' It is no wonder then that his translation was often mistaken in the true sense of the author, any more than that the style of it should after above seventy years, appear in many places uncouth and obsolete. Indeed the latter was polished or rather modernized in some pages of our last edition, but in the present one, it is corrected and improved throughout, besides the rectifying of many mistakes, which Mr. Cotton probably would not have been guilty of, if he had been assisted by those dictionaries published since his time, that are the best explainers of the Gascon language, which was Montaigne's mother tongue.

This new edition of ours will, it is presumed, be received by the publick, with the more favour, not only because the editor had those helps so necessary for explaining the author's true meaning, but because this edition is made conformable to that accurate French edition of these essays, in 1724 (the last and best that ever was made) by Peter Coste, who formerly translated many of Mr. Locke's excellent tracts with applause, into the French language, and was therefore encouraged in the compiling of the said edition of Montaigne's essays, by the subscription of many of our chief nobility and gentry.

After submitting our best efforts for doing it justice, to the candor of the publick, we refer them to what Mr. Coste himself has said, of the preference of his to all the other French editions.

P R E F A C E

O F

P E T E R de C O S T E,

T O H I S

French Edition of MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYS.

ALL Men of good sense have been long agreed as to the merit of Montaigne's essays. For my own part, I do not pretend to make a formal harangue in their praise, nor to enter into a discussion of the criticisms that have been passed upon them: for as to their merit, I can add nothing to what has been already said of it by others; and am persuaded, that such as shall read the work, with any application, will be easily convinced of the weakness of most of those criticisms.

But there is one thing upon which I cannot help making some reflections, before I shew the advantages of this edition above those which have been published hitherto; and that is the noble candour Montaigne has demonstrated throughout the whole book, and from which he has not once departed.

Montaigne has been very much censured for having made himself so much the subject of his book: but this objection has been refuted a thousand times, and I have heard it very often repeated in company, where I could easily perceive, that they who made it were not very well acquainted with Montaigne's manner of painting himself, in this book. He has done it with so much sincerity, that there is all the reason in the world, to believe that he engaged in so difficult an undertaking, not so much out of vanity, as to communicate instruction. 'Tis however certain, that the picture he has here drawn of himself, is in the nature of a faithful mirror, wherein all men may

PREFACE of PETER de COSTE, &c.

may discover some of their own features, if they will but take the trouble to view themselves in it attentively, and with an honest design to see what they are in reality. And to good purpose will it be; for in this world, a man must be very careful to inspect himself, or by living at random, be incessantly exposed to the derision of other men, and be a prey to his own foibles, always in uneasiness and confusion, and always repining at evils, of which he will neither know the cause, nor the proper remedy. 'If' as * Montaigne says, very well upon this occasion, 'the world complains, that I speak too much of myself, I complain that they do not so much as think of themselves.' Would men but try to imitate Montaigne's freedom, and paint themselves in their genuine colours, they will soon perceive the undertaking not to be so blameable, as it is difficult to execute.

The generality of mankind are so blinded by a false complaisance to themselves, and by an unjustifiable kind of shame, that, far from being able to unmask themselves to the publick, with that amiable sincerity which appears in Montaigne, they have not even the courage to pry into the secret recesses of their own hearts, in order to make a private discovery to themselves of their own foibles, levities, and the true motives of their actions. That undoubtedly is the reason why, of so many writers who have appeared in print since Montaigne, and of whom most have been but faint imitators, (a tribe which has ever been the most numerous in the republick of letters) there has not appeared one who attempted to walk in his steps.

This is so remarkable, that the duke of Buckingham, marquis of Normanby, &c. famous for a nice discernment, and a judgment which was never suspected of being clouded by an idle complaisance, or ill grounded prejudices, took occasion from hence to pass a noble compliment upon Montaigne. For, after having mentioned Cicero and lord Bacon, as two excellent geniuses, whose conduct was so inconsistent with the wise maxims which adorned their writings, he says that those two celebrated authors would have done much more service to the publick, if they had given it a candid and particular ac-

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count of the true causes of that contradiction. 'But * he adds we must never expect so much sincerity in any writer, except the incomparable Montaigne, who is like to stand alone to all posterity. I know very well,' continues the duke of Buckingham, 'that Montaigne, is charged with vanity, but in my opinion without reason—And supposing it true that he has not been altogether exempt from it, never did any person take so right a method to disguise it;' for as all his vanity was to publish his foibles and imperfections as freely as his good qualities, it was a vanity of a very particular species, and perhaps would deserve another name.

Montaigne speaks of his book, with the same frankness as he does of himself.

Besides the quotations with which he has enriched it, he confesses ingenuously that he has concealed the names of many celebrated authors, whose reasons and comparisons he has transplanted into his work, purposely to awe those rash censurers, who no sooner see a new book come out, but they set about criticising it; moreover, so far was he from a thought of appropriating the sentiments of another writer to himself, that he says †, 'he should love any one that could by a clear judgment strip him of his borrowed feathers.' For my own part, I have not taken a great deal of pains, to trace those foreign thoughts, yet I have discovered a good number of them, in each volume, tho' more by chance, or by memory, than by that sort of discernment, which Montaigne requires in those who should undertake to divest him of his plumage.

He tells us with the same frankness ‡, that he aspires every where to rise to an equality with his thests, and to go the same pace with them, but he adds, 'tis as much owing to his application, as his invention.' Indeed his book abounds with passages taken from the best authors, which he has made his own, by cloathing them in a dress quite new, and often more delicate and splendid than what they were in the original. Was I to particularize all these ingenious applications of his, I should write

* Vol. 2. p. 266, of the works of John Sheffield duke of Buckingham.

† Montaigne's essays, book II. chap. x. of books.

‡ d. B. I. chap. xxv. of the education of children.

To his French Edition of MONTAIGNE's Essays.

write a volume instead of a preface. One single instance, taken from the 21st chapter of the first book, will be sufficient to excite the curiosity of such readers, as have a taste for inquiries of this nature. Almost all the sentiments of that chapter, are inserted verbatim from Seneca; and by the application which Montaigne makes of them, they appear to be plain observations of the common customs of life, which in short take in all human nature.

But from the very quotations with which Montaigne has enriched his book, some have taken occasion to impeach his sincerity, which to dispossess him of, would be entirely to deface his character. 'How comes it, say they, that Montaigne who has filled his book with such a number of quotations, complains so often and so bitterly of the weakness of his memory? from what a source has he drawn so many scraps of history, and all those beautiful passages of which he has made such singular applications? was it not his memory that furnished him with the names of so many philosophers, their instructive maxims which he quotes at every turn, those long details which he gives of their sentiments, on the nicest questions of natural and moral philosophy, on the nature of the divine being, and of the essence and immortality of the soul?'

In answer to this objection without entering into particulars, which would carry us too far, it may be observed in the first place, that for want of memory, Montaigne has sometimes fallen into very gross errors; as where he mistook * Crates, for Socrates †, one Dionysius, for Diogenes the Cynic; Heraclides ‡ Ponticus, for Pythagoras; and § where he makes Thales say the very contrary to what he said, as he sometimes did Plutarch || his most intimate friend, whose works he always had in his hands, and from whom he was inseparable, even at the time he was inclined 'to be without the company ** 'and the remembrance of every other book.

In the second place, 'tis not owing to memory, nor was it in the heat of composition, that Montaigne embellished his book with all the quotations that now appear in it: he inserted them for the most part at his leisure, and as

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* Lib. iii. cap. 13. † Lib. i. cap. 24. ‡ Lib. i. cap. 25. § Lib. iii. cap. 3. || Lib. ii. cap. 12, and 37. ** Lib. iii. cap. 5.

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he met with them in the books that came in his way. To be convinced of this one need only run over the first editions of the essays, wherein there are but few quotations in chapters which were afterwards full charged with them. For instance, in the 12th chapter of the 2d volume, for three pages together there is a great display of the sentiments of all the most celebrated philosophers of antiquity, concerning the nature of God; but there is not a single word of it in the first edition of the essays printed at Bourdeaux in 1580, nor in that at Paris in 1588. And in the edition which I have now put out, it will appear to every reader, that Montaigne met with all those sentiments very exactly explained in Cicero, from whence it was very easy for him, without any effort of the memory, to transplant them into his book.

Here I cannot avoid taking notice of the censure which Montaigne has very frankly passed upon himself, and as to which nobody has ever once thought fit to contradict him; and that is what he says of his loose and incoherent way of writing, or, as he calls it himself, by leaps and skips *.

This defect is not absolutely owing, as has been always believed, to the particular genius of Montaigne, which unaccountably drew him from one subject to another, so that he was not capable of giving more order and connexion to his own thoughts; but to the many additions which he made here and there to his book, as often as it came to be reprinted. If we only compare the first editions of the essays with those that followed, 'tis obvious that those frequent additions, have very much perplexed and confounded such arguments as were originally very clear, and very well connected. Montaigne's stile, such as it appears in the first editions, and such as it stands in the latter editions, after having been corrupted by those additions, might be compared to a pearl necklace, with whose pearls, tho' at first all perfectly round, and of an equal size, others shall be mixed afterwards altogether as round, but much larger, which at the same time that they enhanced the price of the necklace, would deprive it of great part of its beauty. The case is the same with most of the thoughts which Montaigne

* Book III. in the Chapter on Vanity.

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taigne has inserted, from time to time, in his book. One would be sorry to lose them, tho', by the manner of ingrafting them in it, they disfigure it in many places. Because Montaigne himself could, without any difficulty, perceive the chain of his first thoughts, notwithstanding all his insertions that broke the connection, he imagined that a reader of any attention would discern them as well as he did. But in some parts of his work, the traces of that connection are so faint and obscure, that it cannot be perceived without consulting the most ancient editions. Of this there is a very remarkable instance in the notes of B. III. in the Ch. on Vanity, and many others, of which a more particular discussion would be very disagreeable in this place, and carry me to an excessive length.

What remains for me is briefly to demonstrate the advantages of this edition, above all those that have been published hitherto.

Of all the old editions of the essays, the only authentick one is that published by Angelier at Paris * in 1595, from a copy that was found after the author's decease, as we are positively assured in the title page, and that had been revised and augmented, one third more than the former editions. This is the very edition from which I have caused mine to be printed, without making any other use of those that have appeared since, than merely to correct the faults of the press. The latter editions indeed have had greater alterations of the stile; but as I have made it a rule to myself, to publish Montaigne's book just as he left it to us himself, I have admitted of none of those pretended corrections of language, which often tend only to enervate Montaigne's sentiment, and sometimes make him say a thing the very contrary to, what he said before †.

In the edition of 1595, which I have exactly followed as to the text, there is neither a translation of the Greek, Latin, and Italian passages quoted by Montaigne, nor any discovery of the authorities from whence those passages were taken; two very necessary articles however, with which mademoiselle de Gourney chose to embellish the edition

* With the extracts of the king's licence at Paris, October 15, 1594.

† For instance, B. ii. cap. 2, in the note upon the use of wine.

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edition of the essays that she published in 1635, and which appearing in the subsequent editions, with all the mistakes of the first, rendered this work of very little value.

1. To begin with the article of quotations, mademoiselle de Gournay assures us very expressly in the preface to her edition of the essays in 1635 ; That a person unknown having thought fit to search for, and name some of the authors whose very words had been repeated by Montaigne, she corrected all the errors he had committed, and augmented the list of those authors with at least half the number ; so that there remained but ' About fifty passages,' of which she could not discover the source. These are her very words which I cannot help repeating. ' As to the names of the ' authors quoted,' says she, ' which appear here (viz. ' in the edition of 1635) or which may appear also in ' some other impressions, I have revised and compared ' with their text, all those which had been applied to it ' by the unknown person, retained the true, rejected ' the false, and augmented the former by one half ; so ' that as to this, there remain only fifty void blanks to ' be filled up with the names, in so great a number as ' near twelve hundred passages. It was however a very ' knotty difficulty to find the source of many of the ' authorities of this book, the author having sometimes ' jumbled two or three together, and at other times with ' his usual artifice trumped up some other which rendered the search the more perplexing. Be this as it will, ' I should still have been intangled in it, if some persons ' of honour and learning had not lent me a hand.' Who would not think after what has been said, that the source of most of Montaigne's quotations, is faithfully pointed out by mademoiselle Gournay ? Yet true it is, that her ' unknown friend, and those persons of honour and ' learning,' who assisted her in the discovery of the authors quoted by Montaigne, furnished her with a very imperfect list, abounding throughout with quotations that are false, or nothing to the purpose ; for very often there appear the names of authors, without specifying their works ; as Livy, Petrarch, &c. sometimes Cicero or Seneca, Tibullus or Propertius, are quoted all at
once

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once for one and the same passage; sometimes two passages, one of which belongs to Cicero, the other to Seneca are ascribed to both, one while to Seneca, and another while to Cicero; a passage of Lucretius is charged to Plautus; verses out of Virgil to Lucan, and verses out of Lucan to Virgil; and sometimes the verses of some modern poet are placed to the account of Ennius, Virgil and Ovid. Being obliged by all these mistakes to give no credit to this list, I have not pointed out the source of any passage, till after I had seen it with my own eyes in the original author; and by my own searches, and those of some learned men, whom I always found my account in consulting, I at length discovered them all, save only about ten or twelve passages of very little importance.

How trifling soever this labour might seem, I took a pleasure in it, because I judged it very necessary: for as Montaigne's book is crowded with passages out of the best authors, which he often diverted from their original sense, that he might thereby be enabled to express his own thoughts with more beauty and spirit, the artfulness and agreeableness of those applications could only be discovered by examining those very passages at the fountain-head. But who would trouble himself to go in a search after two or three verses of Virgil, an hemistick of Lucretius or Catullus, a few periods of Seneca or of Cicero, a passage of Sallust, or of Titus Livy, unless it was plainly pointed out to him where he might be sure to find them?

2. A faithful translation of the Greek, Latin, and Italian passages quoted by Montaigne, was altogether as necessary. Mademoiselle de Gournay also undertook this task; but on a close examination of her performance, I soon perceived that it would be easier for me to make an entire new translation, than to amend that of mademoiselle Gournay, besides that the confounding of my French with that lady's, would form a very ridiculous medley. Here I must intreat our book-criticks to remember, that Montaigne having put a sense quite new upon a several passages, which I have rendered into French, I was therefore obliged to transplant Montaigne's ideas into my translation, without

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out considering whether it agreed or not with the sentiments of the authors whose expressions Montaigne borrowed!

3. A very particular advantage which this edition will have beyond all the former editions, is the versification of a great number of sentiments, turns of wit, and historical facts with which Montaigne has adorned his book, without naming the authors from whence he had them. In the first place, I took notice of some that presented themselves as it were of their own accord, and afterwards I made it my business to note down as many as I could possibly discover. By degrees this examen produced a very ample kind of criticism upon Montaigne; for by searching into the authorities which he had recourse to, I discovered many errors that he committed, either because he did not rightly understand the authors he copied, or for want of due retention of their opinions. And to the end that his exactness might be the more visible, as well as his mistakes, (which in the main are not so numerous nor so gross, but there are quite as many, and almost of the same kind too, in the most celebrated writers, the Salmasius's, Grotius's *, &c) I have at the bottom of the pages, quoted the very words of the authors in passages of any importance, without translating them, when they only say what Montaigne has since said in French; but wherever they are contradictory to what Montaigne has said, I give an exact translation, on purpose to make such contradiction apparent.

4. This edition is also augmented with a little commentary, which consists in a short paraphrase on those passages of Montaigne whose sense does not occur easily to the mind, and in an explanation of all antiquated words, which are now grown obsolete. But our virtuosos will say, was it worth while to spend time on a thing of so little importance? I know that all this must be reckoned a trifle; by men who have such a clear and well grounded knowledge of books as they have. But these gentlemen ought to consider, that
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* See Mr. Barbeyrac's preface of his excellent translation of de Jure Belli & Pacis, p. 22, 23. and I know not how many more of his commentaries on that work.

To the French Edition of MONTAIGNE's Essays.

as they are the more respected in the world, because they are few in number, a book only calculated for them, would be of no great use to the rest of mankind.

I have left out of this edition what appears in many others, with the title of 'The life of Montaigne;' an insipid and incomplete abstract of what Montaigne has said of himself in his essays, and couched in his very words, but by their being detached from the occasion which produced them, they lose all their spirit and beauty.

To supply this omission I have added, at the end of the fourth volume, ~~some~~ letters from Montaigne, of which the last is prefixed to the 'Natural theology of Raymond Sebonde,' translated into French by Montaigne: and the others are taken from a little book which is very scarce, consisting of some posthumous pieces of Stephen de la Bœtie, which Montaigne put to the press, in 1571, about nine years before the first edition of his essays. This book was first shewed to me by the honourable Mr. Stanley, who was so very obliging as to put it into my hands, with leave to make any extract of it that might answer my purpose. The letter wherein Montaigne relates the most remarkable particulars of the sickness and death of his intimate friend Stephen de la Bœtie, is sufficient to demonstrate that when he had a mind to take pains, he could write in a stile very coherent and regular: but in the other letters there appears that free natural air which is suitable to Montaigne's common way of writing, and to his genius.

To conclude, it will not be improper, in my opinion, to take notice that Montaigne was born in 1533, that he lived in the reigns of Francis I. Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. and that he died in 1592, on the 13th of September, aged 59 years, 6 months, and 11 days.

A

VINDICATION

OF

Montaigne's ESSAYS.

THESE Essays, or rather Miscellanies, because they are on various subjects, tho' they have not so much order and connection as others, yet people of all ranks, extol them above all others whatsoever. In many other Miscellanies, both ancient and modern, they complain of an unnecessary heap of quotations, whereas in this they are delighted to find authorities quite pertinent to the purpose, intermixed with the author's own thoughts; which being bold and extraordinary, are very effectual to cure men of their weakness and vanity, and induce them to a lawful pursuit of virtue and felicity. But because every body is not of this opinion, we will take notice here of what is said for and against these Essays; and this is the more necessary, because one has frequent occasions to talk of this author, his book being universally read, and having been often quoted, and referred to by the writers of the Spectator, and others of the first class.

The enemies of Montaigne tell us, that his book is so far from inspiring his readers with the love of virtue, that, on the contrary, the free and licentious words in some of his discourses, teach them some vices of which they were ignorant, or else are the occasion that they take a pleasure in speaking of them, if not in committing them: that his discourses upon several effects of nature are rather fit to divert men's thoughts from the true religion, than to convince them of it, and are altogether unbecoming a christian philosopher: that his propositions and assertions, are for the most part, very dangerous for several persons, who either want learning,

A Vindication of, &c.

learning, or have too great a bias for libertinism : that, besides an indifferent knowledge of practical morals, and of history, which Montaigne had acquired in reading Seneca and Plutarch, having conversed with few other books, as he owns himself, he had hardly a tincture of other sciences and arts, even not of the theory of moral philosophy : that he was as ignorant in other parts of philosophy, as physicks, metaphysicks, and logic : that he understood very little of what we call humanity, or the Belles Lettres : that he was a very ill grammarian, and a bad rhetorician ; and that, as he talks positively, and boldly, Scaliger, used to stile him ‘ A bold ignorant.’ These angry gentlemen likewise pretend, that if his quotations from ancient authors, and the little stories he tells us about his own temper and inclinations were taken out of his book, the rest would amount to little or nothing.

Having thus impartially related the most material objections urged against Montaigne, we proceed now to mention what is said in his vindication. And we might here, in the first place, make use of the long preface mademoiselle de Gournay has prefixed to the French folio edition, of his *Essays*, 1635, wherein she does not only give a full answer to all objections against Montaigne, but also talks of him as of a man whose works have revived truth in his age, and which therefore she calls ‘ The quintessence of philosophy, the hellebore of man’s folly, the setter at liberty of the understanding, and the judicial throne of reason.’ But we do not think fit to insist upon her evidence ; for, notwithstanding the solid arguments her opinion is grounded upon, she may be suspected to be blindfolded with the passionate love she had for her adopted father : and besides, we have so many great men to produce in favour of Montaigne, that we may without, any prejudice to his cause, wave the evidence of that lady. These will tell you, that if he has handled any matters with an uncommon freedom, it is owing to his generous temper, which abhorred any base compliance ; and, as to his love for virtue, and his religion, they appeal to his book itself, wherein this will appear evident, if the passages alledged to prove the contrary, are examined without
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A Vindication of

partiality, and not separately by themselves, but according to the connection they have with what precedes or follows.

Stephen Pasquier, that sincere writer, deals more fairly with Montaigne than any of his opposers, for he does not conceal his faults, nor pass by what may be said to extenuate or excuse them. * Montaigne, says he, in one of his letters, has several chapters, where-
* of the body is no ways answerable to the head ;
* witness the following, The history of Spurlina ; of
* the resemblance of children to their parents ; of the
* verses of Virgil ; of coaches ; of lame people ; of
* vanity, and physiognomy. In these the author in-
* coherently rambles from one subject to another,
* without any order or connexion. But after all, we
* must take of Montaigne what is good, and not stick
* to the titles of his chapters, but look into his dis-
* courses, for possibly he designed to laugh at himself,
* at others, and at human capacity, by thus flighting
* the rules and servile laws of authors.'

I shall add on this point, that tho' several of his discourses do contain quite different things from what is promised in the titles, as Pasquier has observed, yet it does not always happen so ; and when he has done it, methinks, it is rather through affectation than inadvertency, to shew that he did not intend to make a regular work. This likewise appears by the odd, or rather fantastical medley of his discourses, wherein from one subject he makes long digressions upon several others. No doubt, but he thought that he might take the same liberty in his meditations, as is assumed in common conversations, in which, tho' there be but two or three interlocutors, 'tis observed that there is such a variety in their discourses, that if they were set down in writing, it would appear that by digressions they are run away from their first subject, and that the last part of their conversation is very little consistent with the first. This I verily believe was his true intention, that he might present the world with a free and original work ; for none of his adversaries will be able to convince the world, that this proceeded from want of judgment in
a man

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a man of such parts as they are obliged to own in Montaigne.

He aimed also, sometimes, to conceal his design by his titles; as for instance, in his third book, when having spent almost a whole chapter against physicians, it is most likely that his view was to conceal his real intentions by intitling the same, 'Of the resemblance of children to their parents.' For this gave him an opportunity to tell us, that he was afflicted with the gravel as his father was, and to discourse of the cure of several distempers, and at the same time of the uncertainty of physick, or rather of the ignorance of physicians; from whence I conclude, that, in this whole chapter, and several others, there is rather a refined art, than ignorance.

'Tis somewhat surprizing that Montaigne should be blamed for quoting ancient writers, when his quotations are made purely to confirm or illustrate what he says, seeing Plutarch and several other excellent authors have taken the same liberty; and if it be objected, that the quotations in Plutarch are taken from Greek authors, and consequently are in the same language as his, whereas Montaigne has stuffed his French book with Greek, Latin, and Italian verses; I answer, that this is trifling; for if Montaigne found nothing in his own language worthy of being cited, or else if he thought that ancient or foreign writers had better treated the matter he speaks of, pray by what law is he forbidden to make use of their authority? I own, that in some places, he has translated passages of ancient authors into French, and so dexterously incorporated them into his work, that he has in a manner made them his own; but where is the great crime in this, especially seeing he has a world of thoughts of his own, which are more sublime and excellent than what he has alledged from others?

Balzac, in his XIX Entretien, reflects upon his diction, though at the same time he excuses it. 'He lived,' says he, 'in the reign of the family of Valois, and was a Gascon by birth, and therefore it is impossible, but his language must have something of the vice common to his age and country. However, we must

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‘ must own that his was an eloquent soul, that he expressed his thoughts in nervous, masculine expressions, and that his style had some beauties above what we could have expected from the age he lived in. I will say no more on this head, and I know that it would be a sort of a miracle, that a person could write or speak French politely, in the barbarism of Quercy and Perigord, where his wife, relations, and friends, are so many enemies to the purity of the French tongue. The court style then was likewise as corrupt as that of the country, there being, at that time, no settled rules for our language; and those faults, which are more ancient than the laws themselves, must be deemed innocent. I conclude,’ says he in another place, ‘ that I have a great veneration for him, and that, in my opinion, he is comparable to those ancients whom we call *Maximos Ingenio, Arte rudes, &c.*’ And, in another, he compares him to a wandering guide who brings his travellers to more agreeable tracks than he promised.

What Balzac says, in relation to the court of France in the days of Montaigne, is true enough, and very much to the purpose; but observe here the vanity and malice of that hypercritic in reflecting upon Montaigne’s country; as if it were impossible that any body born in Perigord or Quercy, should write French politely. I own Balzac has written more elegantly than Montaigne, and that the French tongue is much indebted to him; but he whose excellency consisted chiefly in the connection or disposition of words, must not, for all that, pretend to set up for a judge of the thoughts of Montaigne, as he rashly ventured upon in his XVIII and XIX *Entretiens*.

’Tis true, Montaigne has some provincial expressions, but they are few; and it is to be observed, that several words of his which were at first excepted against, have been since adopted by the best writers, it being the privilege of great authors, to introduce new words. The French word *enjoué* (merry) has not been always in use, though it is now in the mouths of all the learned and polite people, and Montaigne was the first author that I know of, who made use of it; and so they are obliged to him

him for this word, which does not only signify a merry man, but one who carries the very effects of mirth in his face, and chiefly upon his cheek (jouë.)

They who tell us that Scaliger used to call him a 'Bold Ignorant,' do certainly a greater injury to Scaliger than to Montaigne; for the reputation of the former, great as it is, will never so far bias mankind, as to make them believe, that the author of a book, wherein there is so much learning, should be an ignorant. Scaliger was a better judge both of men and books, and as this is not to be found in any one of his works, I think one may venture to say, that this calumny was contrived by some of Montaigne's envious enemies, who having not capacity enough to encounter him, made use of this artifice to run down his merit with that great name.

Monsieur de Placcac, a great admirer of Montaigne, converted his chapter of the 'Vanity of words' into modern French; but, as he owns it himself, it was no more Montaigne's, whose similes and proverbial expressions have greater energy, than the nice politeness of the modern French language; and, besides, Montaigne's discourse is every where full of sentences and solid reason, which do not always admit that smooth but empty way of writing, so much in vogue in France.

As for the rest, there is hardly any human book extant, so fit as this to teach men what they are, and lead them insensibly to a reasonable observation of the most secret springs of their actions; and as cardinal, Perron said, it ought to be the Manual of all gentlemen, especially as his uncommon way of teaching, wins people to the practice of virtue, as much as other books fright them from it, by being dogmatical and imperious.

Thus we have answered all the material objections made against Montaigne; for I think the other trifles which are objected against him, do not deserve to be taken notice of, and I wonder that the author of the 'Search after truth,' should spend his time upon them, in a manner so unbecoming his character. He tells us, after Balzac and some others, that Montaigne's vanity and pride were not suitable to an author and philosopher; that it was ridiculous and needless for him to keep
a page,

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a page, who had hardly 6000 livres a year, and more ridiculous still to have so often mentioned it in his writings : but I may answer, that it was very common in his time for gentlemen of honourable extraction, to keep a page, in order to denote their quality, though their estate could hardly afford them to keep a footman ; and that the 6000 livres a year, were more then, than 20000 now-a-days. It was likewise very much unbecoming the gravity of our famous ' Searcher after ' truth,' to rail at Montaigne because he kept a clerk, when he was counsellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux : for Montaigne having exercised that noble employment but for a short time, in his youth, he had no occasion to mention it ; and who will believe that he concealed it out of vanity ; he who, in the opinion of Malebranche himself, talks of his own imperfections and vices with too great a freedom ? It is likewise very ungenerous and ungentleman-like to take notice, that he did not very well succeed in his mayoralty of Bourdeaux ; for the times he lived in were very troublesome, and supposing he committed some error, which they say without any proof, what is that to the merit of his book ? Balzac introduces a gentleman speaking thus to an admirer of Montaigne. ' You may praise your ' author, if you will, more than our Cicero, but I ' cannot fancy that a man who governed all the world, ' was not at least equal to a person who did not know ' how to govern Bourdeaux.' This may very well pass for a jest ; but is it a rational way of confuting an author, to have recourse to personal reflections, or to some incidents relating to his private person or quality ? This is so mean, that I cannot fancy Balzac could be guilty of it ; and I wholly impute it to those who published after his death, some loose discourses on several subjects, which they have intitled his *Entretiens*.

Notwithstanding these objections, Montaigne always had, and is like to have, admirers, as long as sense and reason have any credit in the world. Justus Lipsius calls him the French Thales, and Mezeray the christian Seneca, and the incomparable Thuanus made an eulogy on him, which being very short, I shall transcribe it here.

‘ Michael

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Michael de Montaigne, chevalier, was born in Perigord, at a seat which had the name of his family. He was made counsellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux with Stephen de la Bœtia, with whom he contracted so great a friendship, that that * dear friend of his, was, even after his death, the object of his respect and veneration. Montaigne was extraordinarily free and sincere, as posterity will see by his *Essays*; for so he has intitled that immortal monument of his genius.

While he was at Venice, he was elected mayor of Bourdeaux, which place was bestowed only upon persons of the first quality, and even the governors of the province thought it was an honour for them. The mareschal de Matignon, who commanded the king's forces in that province, during the troubles of the state, had such an esteem for him, that he communicated the most important affairs to him, and admitted him into his council. As I had a correspondence with him while I was in his country, and since at court, the conformity of our studies and inclinations, united us most intimately. He died at Montaigne in the 60th year of his age.

This testimony of Thuanus is sufficient to justify the memory of our author, for no-body will believe that a man of that integrity, would have been so great a friend to so vicious a man, as Montaigne has been represented by some who envied him. I shall therefore conclude this discourse with a very remarkable circumstance, mentioned by Thuanus in his own life, lib. 3. which shews that Montaigne was beloved by the greatest princes in his time, and honoured with their confidence.

While the states of the kingdom, says he, were sitting at Blois, Montaigne and I were discoursing of the division between the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guise; whereupon he told me, that he knew the most secret thoughts of both those princes, as having been employed to compose their differences; and that he was persuaded, that neither of them was of the religion

* Montaigne therefore always called him his Brother, as he called mademoiselle de Gournay, his Daughter, upon the same principle. Vide the note, p. 192. of this vol.

A Vindication of, &c.

‘ligion he professed. That the king of Navarre would have willingly embraced the religion of his predecessors, if he had not feared that his party would abandon him; and that the duke of Guise would have declared himself for the confession of Augsburg, which the cardinal of Lorrain his uncle had inspired him with, if he could have done it, without any prejudice to his interests.’

I thought this circumstance was not unworthy of being placed here; but I must beg the reader's pardon for having detained him so long, and that he would attribute it to the respect I have for the memory of so excellent a man, as Montaigne, who meets with a much more favourable entertainment in England, than in his native country; but it must be observed, that an author who writes freely of every thing, is not suitable to the temper of a servile nation, that has lost all sense of liberty.

Monsieur la Bruyere, in his celebrated book of the ‘Characters and Manners of the Age,’ gives another reason why some people condemn Montaigne. ‘Two writers,’ says he, ‘(meaning la Mothe le Vayer, and Malebranche) have condemned Montaigne: I know that author may be justly blamed in some things, but neither of them will allow him to have any thing valuable. One of them thinks too little to taste such an author who thinks a great deal; and the other thinks too delicately to be pleased with what is natural.’ ‘This, I believe,’ says he, ‘is the general character of Montaigne's enemies.’

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ESSAYS

OF

MICHAEL *Seigneur de* MONTAIGNE.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I. *That men arrive at the same end by different means.*

WHEN we find, that the Persons whom we have offended have the revenge in their own hands, and that we absolutely lye at their mercy, the most usual way of appeasing their indignation, is to move them to pity by submission: and yet bravery, constancy, and resolution, which are qualities the very reverse, have sometimes produced the same effect.

Edward the Black Prince of * Wales, (the same who so long governed our province of Guienne) a personage remarkably great both by his rank and fortune, having been highly incensed by the Limosins, and taken their city by storm, was not to be restrained from prosecuting his revenge, by the cries of the people, and of the women and children abandoned to slaughter, and calling for mercy, 'till penetrating farther into the town, he took notice of three French gentlemen †, who, with incredible
bravery

* Son to Edward III. king of England, and father of the unfortunate Richard II.

† Froissart says, they were John de Villemur, Hugh de la Roche,
Vol. I. B and

bravery, stood it out alone against his victorious army. His admiration of such transcendent valour, soon blunted the edge of his fury; so that after having given quarter to these three gentlemen, he extended his clemency to all the surviving inhabitants of the city. Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, pursuing one of his soldiers, with a resolution to kill him; the soldier, after having in vain tried, by all the humility and supplication possible, to appease him, resolved to face about, and expect him sword in hand; which behaviour of his gave a sudden check to his commander's fury; who, seeing him assume so gallant a resolution, admitted him to favour. An example, however liable to another construction, by such as never heard of the prodigious strength and valour of that prince.

The emperor Conrad III. having besieged * Guelph duke of Bavaria, would not be prevailed upon, whatever mean and unmanly satisfactions were offered to him, to condescend to more favourable terms, than that the women, who were besieged with the duke, might go out, without violation of their honour, on foot, and with so much only as they could carry. Such was the heroism of the sex, that they carried out their husbands and children, and even the duke himself, upon their shoulders. The emperor was so pleased at the sight of it, that being charmed with their ingenuity, as well as courage, it made him weep for joy, quite extinguished the bitterness of the mortal hatred he had conceived against the duke; and from that Time forward he treated him and his with Friendship.

Both these ways could easily bias me; for I am wonderfully compassionate, and tender hearted: yet, I fancy, I should be sooner moved by pity, than by Esteem. Nevertheless, compassion is reputed a vice among the Stoicks,

and Roger de Beaufort, Son to the count de Beaufort, officers of the city; who, when they saw the trouble and plague that was come upon themselves, and their people, said, 'We shall all die, if we do not defend ourselves; but we will sell our lives dear, as all gentlemen ought to do.' And these three Frenchmen gave several instances of their valour. The prince, coming that way in his chariot, looked upon them with admiration, and relented very much at the sight of them. Froissart, Vol. I. cap. 289. p. 368.

* In 1140, in Winsberg, a Town of Upper Bavaria.

icks, who consent that we relieve the afflicted, but not that we should be so affected with their sufferings, as to sympathize with them. I thought these examples the more pertinent, because therein we observe, those souls assaulted and tried by these two different Means, resist the one, without being shocked, and yet bend under the other. It may be said, that to suffer the heart to be totally subdued by compassion, is the effect of an easy, debonnaire, effeminate disposition; whence it comes to pass, that the weak reason of women, children, and the vulgar, is the most subject to it: but for a man to despise sighs and tears, and surrender his resentment purely to a veneration for the sacred image of virtue, this must be owing to a stout and inflexible spirit, which loves and honours courage that is manly and obstinate.

Yet astonishment and admiration may in less generous minds produce a like effect. Witness the people of Thebes, who having put two of their generals upon trial for their lives, because they had continued in arms beyond the prescribed terms of their commission, very hardly acquitted Pelopidas, who sunk under the heavy charge, and produced no other arguments to save himself, than prayers and supplications; whereas, on the contrary, * Epaminondas, magnifying the exploits he had performed, and reproaching the people in a haughty arrogant manner, they had not the courage so much as to proceed to a ballot, but broke up the court, the whole assembly highly commending the noble spirit of this great Man.

Dionysius the elder, having, by a tedious and very difficult siege, taken the city of Reggio, and in it the governor Phyton, that great and good Man, who had so obstinately defended it, was resolved to make him a tragical example of his revenge †; in order whereunto, he first of all told him, That he had the day before caused his son, and all his kindred, to be drowned: to which Phyton returned no other answer, but, 'That they were ^{the} happier than himself by one day.' After this, causing ^{him} to be stripped, and delivered into the hands of the execution-

B 2

ers,

* Plutarch, in his Treatise, wherein he considers how far a Man may praise himself, ch. 5.

† Diodorus of Sicily, lib. 14. c. 29.

ers, they not only dragged him thro' the streets of the city, and most ignominiously and cruelly whipped him, but, moreover, vilified him with most bitter and contumelious language. Yet still his courage did not once fail him; but on the contrary, with a strong voice, and undaunted countenance, he put the people in mind of the glorious cause of his death; namely, for that he would not deliver up his country into the hands of a tyrant; and, at the same time, he threatened him with speedy chastisement from the gods. Dionysius, reading in the looks of his soldiers, that instead of being incensed at the bravadoes of this vanquished enemy, in contempt of him their general, and of his triumph, they not only seemed mollified with admiration of such uncommon virtue, but ready as it were to mutiny, and even to rescue Phyton out of his officers hands, he put an end to his Torments, by sending him afterwards privately to be thrown into the Sea.

To say the truth, MAN is a subject wonderfully vain, fickle, and unstable, of whom it is not easy to frame any certain and uniform judgment. For instance, Pompey pardoned the whole city of the Mamertines, tho' he was very much enraged against it, from pure regard to the virtue and magnanimity of one citizen, Zeno*, who took the fault of the publick upon himself alone, and desired no other favour, than to suffer ALL the punishment due to it. And yet Alexander, the most courageous of mankind, who was so gracious to the vanquished, having, after many great difficulties, taken the city of Gaza; and finding Betis, who, commanded there, and of whose valour, during the siege, he had seen wonderful proofs, quite alone, abandoned by all his soldiers, his armour hack'd and hewed to pieces, his body covered all over with blood and wounds,

* Plutarch, in his instructions to those who manage state affairs, ch. 12, calls this citizen by the name of Sihenon. In the notable saying of the ancient kings, princes, and generals, where Plutarch has related the same story under the article Pompey, this brave citizen is called Stennius. But in the life of Pompey, ch. 3. the same Plutarch tells us, that Pompey treated all the towns of Sicily with humanity, except that of the Mamertines; and that, having likewise resolved to chastise that of the Himerians, his fury was disarmed by the generosity of Sthenis, one of the governors of the town, who took the whole blame of the publick upon himself.

wounds, still fighting with a number of Macedonians, who attacked him on all sides, he said to him, being nettled at a victory so dear bought, (for, besides other damage, he had received two fresh wounds) * * 'Thou shalt not die, Betis, the death thou chusest, but shalt assuredly suffer all the kinds of torments that can be inflicted on a captive.' Betis returning no answer to these menaces, but only a fierce disdainful frown, 'What! (said Alexander, observing his surly silence) 'is he too stiff to bend a knee? Is he too proud to utter one supplication? I will most certainly conquer this silence; and if I cannot force a word from his lips, I will at least extort a groan from his heart.' And thereupon his anger swelling to rage, he commanded his heels to be bored through, and caused him to be dragged, mangled, and dismembered alive, at the tail of a cart. Was the Height of courage so natural and familiar to this conqueror, that, rather than admire it, he the less esteemed it? or, did he conceive it to be a virtue so peculiar to himself, that his pride could not, without envy, endure to see it in another? or, was the natural impetuosity of his wrath incapable of any check? certainly, had it been possible for any thing to curb it, it is to be believed, it must have been at the sacking and desolation of Thebes, to see so many valiant men undone, and totally defenceless, cruelly butchered by the sword: for there were full 6000 killed, of whom † not one turned his back, or cried out for quarter; but, on the contrary, every one ran about through the streets, striving to provoke the victors to put them to an honourable death. There was not one who did not, to his last gasp, still endeavour to revenge himself, and with the weapons of despair, to seek comfort in his own death, by the death of some enemy. Yet did their afflicted virtue create no pity, nor was one day long enough to glut the conqueror's vengeance; for the Slaughter continued till not a drop of blood remained to be shed, except that of helpless persons, old men, women, and children, of whom 30,000 were carried into slavery.

B 3

CHAP.

* Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 6.

† Diodorus of Sicily, lib. 17. ch. 4.

C H A P. II. *Of Sorrow.*

NO man living is more free from this passion than I am, who neither like it in myself, nor admire it in others; and yet the world is pleased to honour it, as it were, in the lump with a particular favour, and to make it the ornament of wisdom, virtue, and conscience. A silly mean dress! The Italians having more properly given the name to furliness, which is meant by their word *Tristezza*; it being a quality always malignant, always foolish; and, as it is always cowardly and mean, the stoicks would not allow their wise men to be sensible of it. Nevertheless, we read in history *, that Psammenitus, king of Egypt, being defeated, and taken prisoner by Cambyfes, king of Persia, seeing his daughter pass by him in the habit of a servant sent to draw water, though his friends about him burst out into tears and lamentations, yet he himself remained unmoved without uttering a word, and with his eyes fixed on the ground: and that seeing, moreover, his son immediately after led to execution, he still maintained the same gravity of countenance, till spying one of his domesticks dragged away amongst the captives, he smote his forehead, and mourned sadly. Very like to this, is the story of a late prince of our own nation, who being at Trent, and having news brought him of the death of his elder brother, but a brother on whom depended the whole support and honour of his house; and hearing soon after of the death of a younger brother, the second hopes of his family, he withstood both these strokes with an exemplary magnanimity; but one of his servants happening, a few days after, to die, he suffered his constancy to be overcome by this last event, and losing his courage, so abandoned himself to sorrow and mourning, that some from thence concluded he was only pierced to the quick by this last shock; but the truth is, that being before brim-full of grief, the least addition overflowed the bounds of his patience. The same might also be judged of the former example, did not the history proceed to tell us, that Cambyfes asking Psammenitus *, 'Why he was so
unconcerned

* Herodotus, lib. 3. p. 187, 188. Edit. Steph. Anno 1592.

† Herod. lib. 3. p. 188.

‘ unconcerned at the misfortune of his son and daughter,
 ‘ and so impatient at the death of his friend? It is (an-
 ‘ swered he) because this last affliction was only to be dis-
 ‘ covered by tears, the two first exceeding all manner of
 ‘ expression.

And, peradventure, something like this might be work-
 ing in the fancy of the painter of old, who being in the
 sacrifice of Iphigenia *, to represent the sorrow of the
 by-standers proportionably to the degrees by which they
 were variously affected by the death of this innocent
 fair, and having in the other figures exerted the utmost
 power of his art, he drew that of the virgin’s father
 with a veil over his face, meaning thereby, that no kind
 of countenance was capable of expressing such a degree
 of sorrow as his was. This is the reason why the poets
 feign the unfortunate mother, Niobe, after having first
 lost six sons, and successively as many daughters, to be
 quite stupified with grief, and at last petrified,

———*Diriguisse malis* †,

———Whom grief alone,

Had power to stiffen into stone.

thereby to express that melancholick, dumb, and deaf
 stupidity which benumbs all our faculties, when op-
 pressed with accidents that we are not able to bear :
 and, indeed, the operation of grief, if it be excessive,
 must so overwhelm the soul, as to deprive it of the li-
 berty of its functions ; as it happens to every one of us,
 who upon the first alarm of very ill news, find ourselves
 surprized, stupified, and in a manner deprived of all
 power of motion ; so that the soul, by giving vent to
 sighs and tears, seems to disintangle and clear itself, and
 to obtain more room, and freedom.

Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est †.

And when, by struggling, grief is well nigh spent,

’Tis eas’d at length, by giving words some vent.

In the war which king Ferdinand made upon the dow-
 ager of king John of Hungary, a man in armour was
 particularly taken notice of by every one for his ex-
 traordinary gallantry in a certain encounter near Buda,
 and, being unknown, was highly commended, and as

B 4

much

* Val. Max. lib. viii. c. 11. in externis, § 6.
 6. fab. 4.

† Æneid. lib. xi. v. 151.

† Ov. Met. lib.

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much lamented when left dead upon the spot, but by none so much as by Raisciac, a German nobleman, who was charmed with such unparallel'd valour. The body being brought off the field of battle, and the count, with the common curiosity, going to view it, the armour of the deceased was no sooner taken off, but he knew him to be his own son. This increased the compassion of all the spectators; only the count, without uttering one word, or changing his countenance, stood like a stock, with his eyes fixed on the corpse, till the vehemency of sorrow having overwhelmed his vital spirits, he sunk stone dead to the ground.

The lovers, who would represent an unsupportable passion, say,

*Chi puo dir com' egli arde, e in picciol fuoco *!*

The man who can his ardent love declare,
Has of that passion but a scanty share.

—— *Misero quod omnes*

Eripit sensus mibi. Nam simul te,

Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super me

Quod loquar amens;

Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus

Flamma diuolat; sonitu suopte

Tinniunt aures, gemina teguntur

Lumina nocte †

—— Dear Lesbia, thine Eyes

Have ravish'd from me all my faculties:

At the first glance of their victorious ray,

I am so struck, I know not what to say,

Nor have a tongue to speak; a subtle spring

Creeps thro' my veins, my Ears do also ring

With their own Noise; my eyes, I likewise find,

Are with a double veil of darkness blind.

So that it appears from thence, that in the Height and greatest fury of the fit, we are not in a condition to pour out our complaints or to use persuasion, the soul being at that time oppressed with profound thought, and the body dejected and languishing with desire; and from thence it is that sometime proceed those accidental impotencies which so unseasonably surprize the passionate lover,

* Petrarch, fol. 70. di Gab. Giolito at Venice, 1545.

† Cat.

ver, and that frigidity which, by the force of an moderate ardour, seizes him, even in the very lap of fruition: for all passions that suffer themselves to be relished and digested, are but moderate.

Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent *.

His griefs are light, whose tongue can them express;

But heavy sorrow does the voice oppress.

A surprize of unexpected joys does likewise produce the same effect.

Ut me conspexit venientem, et Troia circum

Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstis,

Dirigit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,

Labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore satur †.

Soon as she saw me coming, and beheld

The Trojan ensigns waving in the field,

She was astonish'd at th' unlook'd for sight,

And, like a statue, lost all feeling quite.

Life's gentle heat did her stiff limbs forsake,

She swoon'd; at length with fault'ring tongue she spake.

† Besides the examples of the Roman lady who died for joy to see her son safe returned from the battle of Cannæ, and of Sophocles and Dionysius, the tyrant ‖, who, also both died of joy, and of Talva §, who died in Corsica, at reading the news of the honours which the Roman senate had decreed for him, we have, moreover, one in our time, viz. pope Leo X. who, upon the news of the taking of Milan, a thing he had set his heart upon,

B 5

was

* Seneca Hippol. A&T. 2. Scene 3.

† Virgil. Æneid. lib.

3. v. 306, &c.

‡ Pliny, nat. hist. lib. vii. v. 54. Titus Livy relates an accident, much like this, which happened after the battle of Thrasimene, lib. xxii. chap. 7.

‖ Pliny asserts positively, that the joy of having won the prize in tragedy, put an end to the days of Sophocles and old Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; see his Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 53. But as to Dionysius, if we may believe Diodorus Siculus, the joy that possessed him, on his winning the prize in tragedy, ran him into such extravagancies as were the true cause of his death. 'He was so overjoyed at the news, says the historian, that he made a great sacrifice upon it to the gods; prepared sumptuous feasts, to which he invited all his friends, and therein drank so excessively, that it threw him into a very bad distemper.' Lib. xv. cap. 20. of Amyot's translation.

§ In Valer. Maximus, lib. ix. in Romanis, § 3. where he is called M. Juventius Thalma; Pliny, who only says, that he died in making his sacrifice, calls him, M. Juventius Talva, lib. vii. cap. 53.

was so overjoyed, that he immediately fell into a fever, and died *. And, for a more remarkable testimony of the weakness of human nature, it is observed by the ancients, that Diodorus the logician died upon the † spot, from an extreme passion of shame, for not having been able, in his own school, and in the presence of a great auditory, to disengage himself from a quibble that was propounded to him by Stilpo. For my own part, I am very little subject to these violent passions. I am naturally slow of apprehension, which, by conversation, grows thicker and duller every day.

C H A P. III. *That our Affections are extended beyond our Existence.*

THEY who accuse Mankind of the folly of gaping always after futurity, and advise us to lay hold of the good which is present, and to set up our rest thereupon, as having too short reach to seize that which is to come, a thing even more impossible for us, than to recover what is past, have hit upon the most universal of human errors, if that may be called an error, whereto nature itself has disposed us, which, for the better continuation of her own work, has, among several others, impressed us with this deluding imagination, as being more jealous of what we do, than what we know. For we are never present with, but always beyond ourselves. Fear, desire, and hope violently push us on towards what is to come, and deprive us of the sense and consideration of that which is present, by amusing us with the thought of what will be, even when we shall be no more.

Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius ‡.

The mind that anxious is of things to come,
Is ever joyless, without rest at home.

Plato often repeats this great precept ||, ‘Do what thou hast to do; and know thyself.’ Of these two parts, each generally comprehends our whole duty, and, in like manner, each takes in the other; for he that would mind his

* Francis Guicciardin's history of Italy, lib. xiv. p. 394. vol. 2.

† Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 53.

‡ Seneca, epist. 98

|| In Timæus, p. 544. Edit. Læmariæ, at Lyons 1590.

his own business, will find, that his first lesson is, to know what he is, and what is proper for him : and he who rightly understands himself, will never mistake another man's work for his own, but will love and improve himself above all other things ; will refuse superfluous employments, and reject all unprofitable schemes and proposals. As the fool, tho' he should enjoy all that he can possibly desire, would not be content ; so the wise man acquiesces with the present, and is never dissatisfied. Epicurus exempts his wise men from all foresight and care of futurity.

Among those laws that relate to the dead, I look upon that to be as good by which the actions of princes are to be examined after their decease. They are, while living, at least associates in making the laws, if not the masters of them ; and therefore, what justice could not inflict upon their persons, it is but reason should be executed upon their reputations, and the estates of their successors, things that we often value above life itself *. This is a custom of singular advantage to those countries where it is observed, and as much to be desired by all good princes, who have reason to take it ill that the memories of the wicked should be treated with the same respect as their's. We owe, it is true, subjection and obedience to all kings alike, in regard to their office ; but, as to affection and esteem, these are only due to their virtue. Let it be granted, that, by the rule of government, we are to be quite passive under unworthy princes, to conceal their vices, and to aid their indifferent actions with our recommendation, whilst their authority stands in need of our support ; yet, when such communication betwixt the prince and subject is at an end, there is no reason why we should not, for the sake of our own liberty, and of common justice, publish our real resentments. And to debar good subjects of the glory of having reverently and faithfully served a prince, whose imperfections they so well knew, were to deprive posterity of so useful an example. And they who, out of respect to some private obligation, do against their own knowledge and conscience unjustly espouse the memory of a bad prince, do a private act of justice at the expence of publick justice. Titus Livy † very truly says, that the language of courtiers is always sounding of vain ostentation,

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. i. c. 6.

† Lib. xxxv. c. 48.

ostentation, and not to be depended on; every one indifferently extolling his own king's valour and greatness to the highest pitch. It is not impossible but some may condemn the courage of those two soldiers, who boldly answered Nero to his Face; the one being asked by him, * 'Why he bore him Ill-will? I was true to thee,' he said, 'whilst thou wast worthy of my love; but when thou didst turn parricide, incendiary, a stage-player, and a coachman, I began to hate thee, and do so still.' And the other being asked, † 'Why he had a design to take away his life?' 'because,' said he, 'I had no other remedy against thy perpetual mischiefs.' But, considering the publick and universal testimonies that were given after his death (and will be to all posterity, both of him, and all other bad princes like him) of his tyrannical and wicked practices, what man in his senses can blame them?

I confess, I am scandalized, that in so sacred a government as that of the Lacedæmonians, there should be so hypocritical a ceremony used at the death of their kings, when all their confederates and neighbours, and all sorts and degrees of men and women, as well as their slaves, cut and flashed their foreheads, in token of sorrow, repeating in their cries and lamentations, ‡ that that king (let him have been as wicked as the devil) was the best they ever had; thereby attributing to his quality the praise that belongs to merit, and to the highest degree of it, tho' in the meanest subject. Aristotle, who leaves no subject untouched, makes a query upon the saying of Solon §, 'that none can be said to be happy before he be dead;' Whether any one, who has even lived and died according to his heart's desire, can be termed happy, if he has left an ill character behind him, or if his posterity is miserable. Whilst we have life and motion, we convey ourselves by prepossession or anticipation whither, and to what we please; but when once we are out of being, we have no communication with what still exists, and therefore it had been better said of Solon, 'that no man is ever happy, because he is not so till after he is no more'.

————— *E*

* Tacit. *Annal.* l. xv. c. 67.

‡ Herodot. lib. vi. p. 401.

† Ibid. c. 68.

§ Ibid. lib. i. p. 14.

Et inde

*Vix radicitus è vita se tollit, et ejicit,
Sed facit esse sui quiddam super inscius ipse,
Nec removet satis à projecto corpore sese, et
Vindicat *.*

MR. DRYDEN'S Version.

He boasts no sense can after death remain,
Yet makes himself a part of life again,
As if some other He could feel the pain.

}

MR. CREECH'S Version.

Nor can I think, tho' he himself denies,
And openly declares the whole man dies ;
But that some strong conceit he still believes,
Fond fool ! that he himself survives.

Bertrand de Glesquin dying before the castle of Rancou, near Puy in Auvergne, the besieged were afterward, upon surrender, obliged to deposite the keys of the place upon his corpse. Bartholomew d'Alviano, the Venetian general, happening to die in their wars in Brescia, and his corpse being brought back to Venice through the territories of Verona, the enemy's country, most of the army were for desiring a safe conduct for it from the Veronese; but Theodore Trivulzio opposed it, rather chusing to make way for it by force of arms, at the hazard of a battle, saying, it was not meet that he, who in his life was never afraid of his enemies, should seem to fear them when he was dead. And, in truth, in a case of much the same nature, by the Greek laws, he who made suit to an enemy for a body to give it burial, did, by that act, renounce his victory, and his right to erect a trophy ; and he to whom such suit was made, was ever reputed the victor. By this means it was that Nicias lost the advantage he had visibly gained over the Corinthians, and that Agesilaus, on the contrary, confirmed the doubtful title he had before to what he gained from the Bœotians.

These proceedings might appear very odd, had it not been a general practice in all ages, not only to extend the care of ourselves beyond this life, but, moreover, to fancy, that very often the favours of Heaven accompany

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* Lucret. lib. iii. v. 890.

us to the grave, and continue even to our relicks: Of this there are so many instances among the ancients, waving those of our own time, that it is not necessary I should enlarge upon it. Edward king of England, the first of that name, having, in the long wars betwixt him and Robert king of Scotland, experienced of how great advantage his own immediate presence was to his affairs, as he had been always victorious where he was personally engaged, when he came to die, bound his son by a solemn oath, that, as soon as he was dead, he should cause his body to be boiled till the flesh parted from the bones; and, after burying the Flesh, to carry the bones continually with him in his army, so often as he should be obliged to go against the Scots; as if victory had been chained by destiny to his joints. So John Zisca, who, in vindication of Wickliffe's Heresies, disturbed the Bohemians, left order, that they should flea him after his Death, and make a drum of his skin, to carry into the field against his enemies, fancying it would contribute greatly to the continuation of the successes he had obtained over them. In like manner, some of the Indians, in a day of battle with the Spaniards, carried with them the bones of one of their captains, in consideration of the victories they had formerly obtained under his conduct. And other people, of the same new world, do yet carry about with them, in their wars, the relicks of valiant men who have died in battle, to excite their courage, and advance their fortune. Of these examples, the first only reserve for the tomb, the reputation they gained by their Atchievements, but the latter attribute a certain agency to their dead limbs. The behaviour of captain Bayard reads better, who, finding himself mortally wounded with a shot from a harquebuss, and being advised to retire out of the field, made answer, that he would not begin at the last gasp to turn his back to the enemy, and fought on as long as he had strength; till feeling himself too faint, and no longer able to sit his Horse, he commanded his steward to set him down against the root of a tree, but in such a posture, that he might die with his face towards the enemy, which he did.

I must yet add another example as remarkable, with regard to the present subject, as the former. The emperor Maximilian, great grandfather to Philip the present king

king of Spain, was a prince richly endowed with great qualities, and remarkably handsome, but had withal a humour very contrary to that of other princes, who, for the dispatch of their most important affairs, convert their close stool into a chair of state, viz. that he never permitted any of his valets, how much a favourite soever, to attend him in his privy, but stole aside to make water; and was as shy as a virgin to discover either to his physician, or any other person whatsoever, those parts of the body that are by custom kept secret. And I myself, who never blush at what I say, am yet naturally so modest in this point, that, unless it be at the importunity of necessity or pleasure, I very rarely let any one see those parts and actions which custom requires us to conceal. In this I also suffer more constraint than I conceive is very well becoming a man, especially of my profession. But the emperor indulged this modest humour to such a degree of superstition, as to give express orders in his last will, that they should put him on drawers as soon as he was dead; to which, methinks, he would have done well to have added by a codicil, that whoever put them on should be hoodwinked. The charge which Cyrus left with his children*, that neither they, nor any other, should either see or touch his body after the soul was departed from it, I attribute to some superstitious devotion of his; both his historian, and himself, amongst other great qualities, having, in the whole course of their lives, demonstrated a singular attention and respect to religion.

I was by no means pleased with a story told me by a great man, of a relation of mine, who had been very eminent both in peace and war, that, being arrived to a very old age, and excessively tormented with the stone, he spent the last hours of his life in an extraordinary solicitude about ordering the pomp and ceremony of his funeral, pressing all the men of condition who came to see him, to promise their attendance on him to his grave: and he most earnestly importuned the very prince, who visited him in his last agonies, that he would order his family to join in the funeral procession, urging several reasons

* Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, lib. viii. cap. 7. towards the end.

reasons and examples to him, to prove that it was a respect due to a person of his condition; and, having obtained a promise, and appointed the method and order of his funeral parade, he seemed to die content. So much vanity as this was, to the very last, I scarce ever saw!

Another, though a contrary curiosity (of which I do not want a domestick example) seems to be somewhat a-kin to this; that a man shall cudgel his brains, in the last moments of his life, to regulate his obsequies with so particular and unusual a parsimony, as to permit no more attendance than one single servant with a lantern; and yet I see this humour commended, as well as the appointment of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus *, who forbade his heirs to bestow upon his corpse so much as the common ceremonies in use upon such occasions. Is it temperance and frugality to avoid expence and pleasure, when the use and knowledge thereof are by us imperceptible? an easy and cheap reformation this! If instruction were at all necessary, I should be of opinion, that this, as all other actions of life, should be regulated by every man's ability; and the philosopher Lycon † prudently ordered his executors to dispose of his body where they should think most fit, and as for his funeral, to order it neither superfluous, nor too mean. For my own part, I should wholly leave the ordering of this ceremony to custom, and to their discretion to whose lot it shall fall to do me that last office. 'Totus hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non negligendus in nostris ‡'. The place of our sepulture is wholly to be contemned by us, but not to be neglected by our friends; and it was a holy saying of a saint, 'Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum §'. i. e. The care of funerals, the place of sepulture, and the pomp of the obsequies, are rather consolations to the living, than any benefit to the dead. From this consideration it was, that when Criton asked Socrates, on his death bed, how he would be buried?

* Before he died, he commanded his son to carry him to his sepulchre on the bare bed, without linen, purple, &c. In epitome liviana, lib. 48. † Diogenes Laertius, in Lycon's life, lib. v. sect. 74. edit. Wetst. Amsterdam, anno 1692. ‡ Cicero Tusc. lib. i. c. 45. § August. de Civit. dei. lib. i. c. 12.

ried? the philosopher made him answer, how ye will *. If I was to concern my self further about this affair, I should think it more genteel to imitate those who entertain themselves, while alive, with the ceremony of their own obsequies, and are pleased with beholding their own dead countenances in marble. Happy are the men who can regale and gratify their senses by insensibility, and live even when they are dead !

I am ready to conceive an implacable hatred against all popular government, (though I cannot but think it the most natural and equitable of all others) so oft as I call to mind the injustice and inhumanity of the Athenians, who, without mercy, or once vouchsafing to hear what they had to say for themselves, put to death their brave captains newly returned triumphant from a naval victory, which they had obtained over the Lacedæmonians, near the Arginusian † isles, (the sharpest and most obstinate engagement which ever the Greeks fought at sea) for no other reason but that the Greeks followed their blow, and pursued the advantages prescribed them by the law of arms, rather than stay to gather up and bury their dead. An execution that was yet rendered more odious, by the behaviour of Diomedon, who, being one of the condemned persons, and a man of eminent virtue, both political and military, advancing to speak, after having heard the sentence (till when he was not allowed a peaceable hearing) instead of pleading his own cause, or proving the manifest impiety of so cruel a sentence, only expressed a concern ‡ for the safety of his judges, beseeching the gods to convert this sentence to their own good ; and praying, that, for neglecting to pay those vows that he and his companions had made (which he also acquainted them with) in acknowledgment for so glorious a success, they might not pull down the indignation of the gods upon them ; after which he went courageously to his execution.

Fortune, not many years after, dealt them the same bread : for Chabrias, captain-general of their naval forces, having got the better of Pollis, admiral of Sparta, about the isle of Naxos, totally lost the fruits of § his victory

* Plato's *Phædon*, towards the end. † Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiii. c. 31. Three islands to the S. E. of that of Lesbos. ‡ Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiii. c. 32. § Ibid. lib. xv. c. 9.

victory (of very great importance to their affairs) and lest he should incur the misfortune of the Athenian captains, he chose to save a few bodies of his dead friends that were floating on the sea, which gave opportunity to a great number of his living enemies to sail away in safety, who afterwards made them pay dear for this unseasonable superstition.

Quæris quo jaceas post obitum loco ?

*Quo non nata jacent **.

Dost ask where thou shalt lye when dead ?

With those that ne'er yet being had.

This other passage restores the sense of repose to a body without a soul.

Neque sepulcrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis : ubi, remissa humana vitâ, corpus requiescat a malis †.

Nor with a tomb as with a haven blest,

Where, after life, the corpse in peace may rest.

Just so nature demonstrates to us, that several dead things still retain an occult relation to life. Wine changes in cellars, according to the changes of the seasons of the vine from whence it came ; and the flesh of venison is said to alter its condition in the powdering-tub, and to vary its taste, according to the seasons of the living flesh of its kind.

CHAP. IV. *How the soul discharges its passions upon false objects, when the true are wanting.*

A Gentleman of my country, who was very often tormented with the gout, being often importuned by his physicians to abstain from salt meats, used to reply merrily, that there was a necessity for his having something to quarrel with in the extremity of his pain, and that he fancied, that sometime railing at, and cursing the Bologna sausages, at other times the dry'd tongues, and the gammon, was some mitigation of it. And in good truth, as we are chagrined if the arm which is advanced to strike misses the mark, and spends itself in vain ; and as also, that to make a prospect pleasant, the
fight

* Seneca Tr. chor. 2. v. 30.
c. 44.

† Cicero Tuscul. lib. i.

sight should not be lost and dilated in the Æther, but have some bounds to limit it at a reasonable distance;

Ventus, ut amittit vires, nisi robore densæ

Occurrant Sylvæ, spatio diffusus inani *.

As Winds do lose their strength, unless withstood

By some thick grove of strong opposing wood.

In like manner it appears, that the soul, being agitated and discomposed, is lost in itself, if it has not something to encounter with, and therefore always requires an object to aim at, and keep it employed. Plutarch says very well of those who are fond of lap-dogs and monkeys, that the amorous part which is in us, for want of a right object, rather than lye idle, does, in a manner, forge in the fancy one that is false and frivolous. And we see that the soul, in the exercise of its passions, rather deceives itself by creating a false and fantastical subject, even contrary to its own belief, than not to have something to work upon. After this manner brute beasts spend their fury upon the stone or weapon that has hurt them, and are ready to tear themselves to pieces for the injury they have received from another.

Pannonis haud aliter post ictum sævior ursa

Cui jaculum parva Lybis amentavit habena,

Se rotat in vulnus, telumque irata receptum

Impetit, et secum fugientem circuit hastam †.

So the fierce bear, made fiercer by the smart

Of the bold *Lybian's* mortal wounding dart;

Turns round upon the wound, and the tough spear

Contorted o'er her breast does flying bear.

What causes of the misfortunes that befall us do we not ourselves invent? what is it that we do not blame, right or wrong, that we may have something to quarrel with? those beautiful tresses, young lady, which you tear off by handfuls, are no way guilty, nor is it the whiteness of that bosom which you smite with so much indignation and cruelty, that with an unlucky bullet has killed your dear brother; quarrel with something else. Livy, speaking of the Roman army in Spain, says, that for the loss of two brothers, their great captains,

‘fieri

* Lucan, lib. iii. v. 362, 363.
222, &c.

† Luc. lib. vi. v

'fieri omnes repente, et offensare capita *;' all wept, and beat their foreheads: but this is a common practice. And the philosopher Bion said pleasantly of the king who plucked off the hair of his head for sorrow, 'does this man think that baldness is a remedy for grief †?' who has not seen gamesters bite and gnaw the cards, and swallow the dice in revenge for the loss of their money? Xerxes lashed the sea, and wrote a challenge to mount Athos ‡! Cyrus set a whole army several days § at work, to revenge himself on the river *Gnidus* ||, for the fright it had put him in when he was passing over it; and *Caligula* demolished a very beautiful palace **, for the confinement his mother had there.

I remember there was a story when I was a boy, that one of our neighbouring kings having been smitten by the hand of God, swore he would be revenged, and he ordered a proclamation, that, for ten years to come, no person in his dominions should pray to him, or so much as mention him, or even believe in him; by which we are not so much to take measure of the folly, as of the vain-glory peculiar to the nation of which this story was told. They are vices, indeed, that always go together, but such actions as these have more of temerity in them than

* Livy, Dec. 3. lib. 5. Luc. lib. xxv. c. 37. † Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii. c. 26. ‡ Herodot. lib. vii. p. 452.

§ Ibid. lib. i. p. 86, 87. and Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 21. Herodotus says expressly, that Cyrus spent the whole summer about this fine expedition. And Paul Orosius, who is as incorrect as Montaigne, tho' in a contrary sense, says, that Cyrus employed all his troops on this work a whole year, perpeti anno, lib. ii. c. 6.

|| Or Gyndas, Γύνδης, as Herodotus calls it. Seneca and Tibullus, lib. iv. carm. i. v. 141.-- "rapidus, Cyri dementia, Gyndes.

** Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 22. 'Cæsar villam in Herculanensi pulcherrimam, quia sua mater aliquando in illa custodita erat, diruit;' i. e. Cæsar demolished the most beautiful city in the Herculanium because his mother was once imprisoned in it. I question whether Montaigne rightly understood Seneca's meaning; or, I imagine, that instead of *Plaisir*, he would have used the word *Deplaisir*, because it agrees perfectly well with what Seneca says, 'of her having been confined there as in a prison. In one of the first editions of the essays in French, *Plaisir* was, by inadvertency, printed instead of *Deplaisir*, which mistake was from thence continued in all the succeeding editions; at least, it is the same in all that I have been able to consult; and from thence Mr. Cotton used the word *Pleasure*.

than of stupidity. Augustus Cæsar having been tossed with a tempest at sea *, fell to defying the god Neptune, and, in the pomp of the Circensian games, to be revenged, deposed his statue from the place it had amongst the other deities. In this he was less excusable than in the former, and less too than he was afterwards, when having lost a battle under Quintilius Varus in Germany, he raved like a madman, and sometimes ran his head against the wall, crying out, † O Varus! give me my legions again! for their's exceeded all folly, because it was attended with impiety, by carping at God himself, or at least at fortune, as if she had ears to be dinn'd with our complaints; like the Thracians ‡, who when it thunders or lightens, fall to shooting against Heaven with Titanian vengeance, as if by flights of arrows they thought to reduce the deity to reason. Now as the ancient poet in Plutarch tells us, in his treatise of contentment, or the peace of the mind, c. 4. of Amyot's translation,

Point ne se faut courroucer aux Affaires :

Il ne leur chaut de toutes nos choleres.

We must not rave at Heav'n in our affairs,

Which for our indignation nothing cares.

But we can never enough condemn our unruly passions.

CHAP. V. *Whether the governor of a place besieged ought himself to go out to parley.*

Lucius Marcius §, the Roman legate, in the war against Perseus king of Macedon, in order to gain time for putting his army into a good condition, set on foot some overtures of accommodation, with which the king being lulled asleep, concluded a cessation for a certain number of days, thereby giving his enemy opportunity and leisure to strengthen their army, which proved his own final ruin; yet the elder sort of senators, mindful of their forefathers customs, condemned this proceeding, as injurious to their ancient practice, which, they said,

* Suetonius, in the life of Augustus, sect. 16. † Suetonius ibid. sect. 23. ‡ Herodot. lib. iv. c. 289. § Titus Livy calls him Quintus Marcius, lib. xiii. c. 37, &c.

said, was to fight by mere valour, and not by stratagem, surprizes, and night encounters, neither by pretended flights, nor unexpected rallies; never making war till having first proclaimed it, and very often appointing both the hour and place of battle. Out of this honest principle it was, that they sent back to Pyrrhus his treacherous physician, and to the Hetrurians their disloyal school-master. And this was indeed a conduct truly Roman, without any mixture of the Grecian subtilty, or the Punick cunning, with whom it was reputed not so honourable to overcome by force as by fraud. The latter may be of service for once, but he only reckons himself fairly overcome, who knows he is subdued neither by policy, nor chance, but by mere dint of valour, hand to hand, in a fair and generous battle *. And it is plain by the language of these good old senators, that this fine sentence was not yet admitted amongst them,

—— *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat* † ?

What matters it, if valour or deceit

Be conqueror, if we the better get ?

The Achaïans, says Polybius, abhorred all manner of fraud, not reputing it a victory, unless where the courage of the enemy was fairly quelled. ‘ Eam vir sanctus et ‘ sapiens sciet veram esse victoriam, quæ salva fide, et ‘ integra dignitate parabitur ‡’. An honest and a wise man will allow that only to be a true victory which is obtained without breach of faith, or stain of honour. Another says,

*Vosne velit, an me regnare heræ, quidve ferat fors,
Virtute experiamur* ||.

If you or I shall rule, let's bravely try,

To whom dame fortune gives the victory.

In the kingdom of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca islands, amongst those people whom we so roundly call Barbarians, they have a custom never to commence war till it be first proclaimed; adding withal, an ample declaration of what means are in their power to carry it on, with what, and how many men, what ammunition, and what arms, both offensive and defensive; but that being

* Liv. lib. xiii. c. 43, 47. † *Æneid*. lib. ii. v. 390. ‡ Florus lib. i. c. 12. || Ennius apud Cicero, lib. i. de offic. c. 12.

being done, they afterwards conceive it lawful to employ, without reproach, any means that may best conduce to their success in the war. The ancient Florentines were so far from seeking any advantage over their enemies by surprize, that they always gave them a month's warning before they drew their army into the field, by the continual tolling of a bell they called Martinella. As for us who are not so scrupulous in this affair, and who attribute the glory of a battle to him who has the better of it, and who say with Lyfander *, ' where the lion's skin is too short, " we must eke it out with the Fox's case ;' the most common occasions of surprize are derived from this practice, and we hold, that there are no moments in which the general ought to be more upon his guard, than those of parleys and treaties of accommodation. It is therefore become a general maxim in these times, that a governor of a place never ought, in a time of siege, to go out to parley. It was for this reason that, in our ancestors days, Messieurs de Montmard and d'Assigni were so highly censured in their defence of Mouson against the count de Nassau ; yet in this case it would be excusable in that governor, who, if he went out, should take care that the safety and advantage should be on his side, as count Guido de Rangoni did at Reggio (if we may believe Bellay, for Guicciardine says it was he himself) when Monf. de l'Escut advanced to parley, who stept so little a way from his fort, that a disorder happening in the interim of the parley, not only Monf. de l'Escut and his party, who were advanced with him, found themselves by much the weaker, (insomuch that Aleffandro de Trivulcio was there slain) but he himself was compelled, as the safest way, to follow the count, and rely upon his honour, to shelter himself from the shot within the very walls of the town. Eumenes, being shut up in the city of Nora by Antigonus †, and by him importuned to come out to hold a parley with him, as he sent him word, it was fit he should to a greater and better man than himself, and one who had now an advantage over him, he returned him this noble answer, ' tell him, ' said

* See his life by Plutarch, c. 4. translated by Amyot. † Plutarch's life of Eumenes, c. 5.

said he, ' that I shall never think any man better than myself, whilst I wear a sword ;' and he would not consent to go out to him, till, according as he demanded, Antigonus had delivered him his own Nephew Ptolemy in Hostage. And yet some have fared very well in going out to hold a parley with the besieger. Witness Henry de Vaux, a gentleman of Champagne, who being besieged in the castle of Commercy by the English, under the command of Bartholomew de * Bonnes, who had so sapped most of the out-works of the castle, that nothing remained but setting fire to the mine, to bury the besieged under the ruins, he requested the said Henry to come out to hold a parley with him for his own Good ; which Henry doing accordingly, with three more in company, and his evident ruin being made apparent to him, he thought himself singularly obliged to the enemy, to whom he surrendered with his garrison at discretion, and then fire being applied to the mine, the props immediately fell, and the castle was blown up, so that not one stone was left upon another. I am very ready to give credit to the faith of another person, but I should be very loth to do it in a case, where it should be supposed I did it rather from despair, and want of courage, than voluntarily, and from a confidence in the sincerity of the person with whom I had to do.

CHAP. VI. *The Time of Parleys dangerous.*

YET I lately observed that at *Mussidan*, in my neighbourhood, those who were drove out of it by our army, complained, with others of their party, that, during a treaty of accommodation, and in the very interim that the deputies were treating, they were surprized by treachery, and cut to pieces : a fact which, perhaps, in another age might have been coloured over ; but, as I said before, the custom of war in these days is quite different, and there is now no confidence to be placed in an enemy, till after the last seal of obligation ; and even then there is danger enough ; so hazardous a thing it is, and

* Vol. 1. ch. 209. Froissart, from whom Montaigne relates this, calls him Bartholomew de Brunes.

and ever was, to trust the observation of the faith engaged to a town which capitulates upon easy and favourable terms, to the licentiousness of a victorious army, and to give soldiers free entrance into it in the heat of blood. Lucius ~~Æmilius~~ Regillus, a Roman prætor, having lost time in attempting to take the city of Phocæa by force, by reason of the singular valour wherewith the inhabitants defended themselves, conditioned at last to receive them as friends to the people of Rome, and to enter the town as into a confederate city, securing them from the fear of any hostility * : but having, for the greater pomp, brought his whole army, in with him, it was not in his power, with all his endeavour, to restrain his Men : so that avarice and revenge, being too hard for his authority, and for the military discipline, he saw a considerable part of the city pillaged before his face. Cleomenes used to say, ' That what mischief soever a man could do his enemy in time of war was above justice, and that he was not accountable for it in the sight of the gods and men.' And having concluded a truce with those of Argos for seven days, he fell upon them the third night after, when they were all in a profound sleep, and put them to the sword, alledging for his excuse, That in the truce there was no mention of nights ; but the gods punished his perfidy.

In a time of parley also, and while the citizens thought themselves very secure, the city of Cassilinum was taken by surprize, and that too in the age of the justest captains, and when the discipline of the Roman militia was in its perfection : for it is not said, that it is not lawful for us, at a proper time and place, to make an advantage of our enemies want of understanding, as well as their want of courage. And, doubtless, war has naturally a great many privileges that are reasonable even to the prejudice of reason. And, therefore, here the rule fails, ' *Neminem id agere ut ex alterius prædetur inscitia* * . That no one should make an advantage of another's folly. But I am astonished at the great liberty allowed in such cases by Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia*, and that both by the determinations and the several exploits of his compleat

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C

Emperor.

* Livy, l. xxxvii. c. 32.

† Cicero de Offic. l. iii. c. 17.

Emperor. He is an author, I confess, of much weight in those affairs, as being, in his own person, both a great captain, and a philosopher of the first form of the disciples of *Socrates*; but I cannot come into such a latitude as he dispenses with in all things and places. Monsieur d'Aubigny having besieged Capua, and played a furious battery against it, signior Fabricio Colonna, governor of the town, having begun to hold a parley from one of the bastions, and his soldiers, in the mean time, being less on their guard, our men took it and put all to the sword. And of later memory, at Yvoy, signior Juliano Rommino having been such a novice as to go out to hold a parley with the constable, at his return found the place taken. But that we might not go unrevenge'd, the marquis de Pescara having laid siege to Genoa, where duke Octavio Fregosa commanded under our protection, when the articles of capitulation were so far advanced, that it was looked upon as good as concluded, several Spaniards being slipped in, made Use of this treachery, as an absolute victory. And since that time, at Ligny in the Barrois, where the count de Brienne commanded, the emperor having besieged it in person, and Bertheville, the said count's lieutenant, going out to hold a parley, whilst he was capitulating, the town was taken.

They say,

Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa,

*Vincasi ò per fortuna, ò per ingegno *.*

That conquest ever was a glorious thing,

Which way soe'er the conqueror purchas'd it,

Whether it was by fortune, or by wit.

But the philosopher Chrysippus was not of this opinion, nor I heartily; for he said, † That he who runs, a race, ought to exert all his strength in speed; but that it is by no means fair in him to lay hand upon his adversary, to stop him, or to set a leg before him to throw him down. And yet more generous was the answer of the great Alexander to Polyperchon, when he persuaded him to take advantage of the darkness of the night to fall upon Darius: By no means, said he; I do not want to steal a victory, I had rather be sorry for my fortune, than ashamed of my victory ‡.

Atque

* Ariosto, *Cant. xv. v. 1, 2.*

† Cicero de *Offic. lib. iii. cap. 10.*

‡ Quint. Curtius, *lib. iv. c. 13.*

*Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodem
Sternere, nec jacta cæcum dare Cuspide vulnus:
Obvius, adversoque occurrit, seque viro vir
Contulit haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis ¶.*

His heart disdain'd to strike Orodes dead,
Or in his back to stab him as he fled.

Then with disdain the haughty victor view'd
Orodes flying, nor the wretch pursu'd :

Nor thought the dastard's back deserv'd a wound,
But hast'ning to o'ertake him, gain'd the ground :
Then, turning short he met him face to face,
To give his victory the better grace.

C H A P. VII. *That our actions are to be judged by
the intention.*

IT is a common saying, ' That death discharges us of
all our obligations.' Yet I know some that have
taken it in another Sense. Henry VII. King of England,
articled with Don Philip, son to Maximilian the emperor,
or to give him the more honourable appellation, father
to the emperor Charles V. that the said Philip should
deliver up to him his enemy, the duke of Suffolk of the
White Rose, who had taken refuge in the Netherlands,
and promised that, upon such surrender of him, he
would attempt nothing against the said duke's life, in
which he was as good as his word, but when he came
near to his latter end, he enjoined his son, by his last will
and testament, to put him to death immediately after his
decease. And lately, in the tragedy which the duke of
Alva presented to us at Brussels, in the persons of the
counts of Horne and Egmont, there were many very re-
markable passages, one of which was, that the said count
of Egmont (upon the security of whose word and ho-
nour the count of Horne surrendered himself to the
duke of Alva) earnestly intreated that he might first
mount the scaffold, to the end that his death might dis-
engage him from his obligation to the count Horne. In
this case, methinks, death did not acquit the king of his
engagement, and the count of Egmont was acquitted of
his, even tho' he had not died. We cannot be bound
beyond our Abilities and our Substance: And because
the

the effects and performances are not at all in our power, and as in good truth there is nothing in our power but the will, it is on this that all the rules of man's duty are necessarily founded and established. Thus the count of Egmont, thinking his soul and will bound to his promise, tho' he had not the power to make it good, had doubtless been absolved of his obligation, even if he had outlived the count of Horne. But the king of England, breaking his faith by previous intention, could no more excuse himself for deferring the execution of his treachery till after his death, than Herodotus's mason *, who having kept the treasures of the king of Egypt, his sovereign, inviolably secret in his life-time, discovered it at his death to his children.

I have known many persons in my time, who being reproached by their consciences of withholding the property of another person, have aimed at making satisfaction by their last will and testament, and after their decease; but they do nothing who take so much time in so pressing an affair, or who think to repair an injury with so little compunction and expence. They owe over and above, something of what they have in their immediate possession; and the more they incommode themselves, by restoring what they have unjustly taken, the juster and the more commendable is their satisfaction; for penitence requires penance. Those do yet worse, who, by their last will declare a mortal animosity against their neighbour, which they had concealed in their life-time, wherein they shew their little regard to their own honour, by irritating the person offended against their memory; and less to their conscience, not having the power even in respect to death, to let their malice die with them, but extending the existence of it even beyond their own. Unjust judges, who defer judgment to a Time wherein they can have no knowledge of the cause! For my part, I shall take what care I can, that my death make no discovery of what my life has not first declared, and that publicly.

C H A P.

* Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 131.

C H A P. VIII. Of Idleness.

AS we fee some lands that have lain fallow, if the foil is fat and fertile, produce innumerable forts of wild herbs that are good for nothing, for want of being cultivated, and sown with certain seeds proper for our service. And as we find that some women who have not known men, do of themselves bring forth shapeless lumps and piéces of flesh, and that to cause a proper and natural generation, it is necessary to impregnate them with another kind of seed, even so it is with our minds, which if not applied to some particular subject to check and restrain them, rove about confusedly in the vague expanse of imagination.

*Sicut aquæ tremulum labris ubi lumen abenis
Sole re percussum, aut radiantis imagine Lunæ,
Omnia pervolat latè loca, jamque sub auras
Erigitur; summique ferit laquearia testæ *.*

Thus translated Mr. COTTON.

Like as the quivering reflection
Of fountain waters, when the morning sun
Darts on the basin, or the moon's pale beam
Gives light and colour to the captive Stream,
Whips with fantastick motion round the place,
And strikes the cieling with its trembling rays.

And thus by Mr. DRYDEN.

So when the Sun by day, or moon by night,
Strikes on the polish'd brass their trembling light,
The glittering species here and there divide,
And cast their dubious beams from side to side:
Now on the walls, now on the pavement play,
And to the cieling flash the glaring day.
In which agitation, there is no folly, nor idle fancy,
which they do not create.

— *velut ægri somnia, vanæ*

Finguntur species — †

Like sick mens dreams, that from a troubled brain
Phantasms create, ridiculous and vain.

The Soul that has no established limit to circumscribe
it loses itself, for, as the epigrammatist says,

C 3.

Quisquis

* Æneid. lib. viii. v. 22.

† Hor. Art. Poet. v. 7, 8.

Quisquis ubique habitat, maxime nusquam habitat *.

He that is every where is no where.

When I lately retired to my own house, with a resolution to avoid all manner of concern in affairs as much as possible, and to spend the small remainder of my Life in privacy and peace, I fancied I could not give my mind more enjoyment, than to leave it at full liberty to entertain rest, and compose itself; which I also hoped that it might do the more easily henceforwards, as being by time become more settled and improved: but I find,

———— *variam semper dant otia mentem* †.

———— Even in the most retired states,

A thousand thoughts an idle life creates.

that, on the contrary, like a horse broke loose, which runs away with greater speed than the rider would put him to, it gives birth to so many chimeras, and fantastick monsters, one upon the neck of another, without order and design, that, for the sake of surveying the folly and absurdity of them when I list, I have begun to draw a catalogue of them, hoping in time to make my mind ashamed of itself.

CHAP. IX. *Of Lians.*

THERE is not a man whom it would so ill become to boast of memory as myself; for I own I have scarce any, and do not think that, in the world there is another so defective as mine. My other faculties are all mean and common; but, in this respect, I think myself so singular and rare, as to deserve a more than ordinary character. Besides the inconvenience I naturally suffer from this defect of memory, (for in truth, the necessary use of it considered, *Plato* might well call it a great and powerful goddess) in my country when they would signify that a man is void of Sense, they say that he has no memory; and when I complain of the defect of mine, they reprove me, and do not think I am in earnest by accusing myself for a fool; for they do not discern the difference betwixt memory and understanding, in which they make me worse than I really am; for, on the contrary, we rather find, by experience, that a strong memory is liable to be accompanied with a weak judgment;

* *Martial* lib. vii. ep. 72.

† *Lucan* lib. iv. v. 704.

ment; and, as I acquit myself in nothing so well as the friend, they do me another wrong in this respect, that, by the same words with which they accuse my infirmity, they represent me as ungrateful. They bring my affection into question upon account of my memory, and turn a natural imperfection into a bad conscience. He has forgot, say they, this request, or that promise; he does not remember his friends; he has forgot to say, or to conceal such a thing for my sake. It is true, I am apt to be forgetful, but am not indifferent about any thing which a friend has given me in Charge. It is enough that I suffer the misfortune, without being branded with a sort of malice, a vice so contrary to my nature.

This, however, is my comfort; first, that it is an evil from which principally I have found reason to correct a worse, that would have grown upon me namely ambition; for this is an intolerable defect in those who are incumbered with the management of publick business. And (as several examples of the like kind, in the progress of nature demonstrate) the greater is this defect, I find my other faculties the stronger in proportion. I should have been apt to have rested my understanding and judgment on other men's, and have lazily followed their footsteps, without exerting my own strength, had any strange inventions and opinions occurred to me, by the help of my memory. By this means too I am not so talkative; for the magazine of the memory is apt to be better stored with matter than that of the invention: and, had my memory been good, I had, ere this, deafened all my friends by my babble; for the subjects themselves, by rousing that sort of talent which I have of handling and applying them, would have animated and spun out my discourses. It is Pity; but it is no less true, that I have observed in some of my intimate friends, who, when their memories represent a thing to them entire, and as it were in present view, begin their story so far back, and crowd it with so many impertinent Circumstances, that if the story be good in itself, they spoil it; and, if it be bad, you are either to curse the strength of their memory, or the weakness of their judgment. It is a difficult matter to close up a narration, and to cut it short in its career. Neither is there any thing that

more discovers the strength of a horse, than when it makes a full stop with a grace; and of those men who talk pertinently, I know some who would, but cannot stop short; for, whilst they are seeking a period for the narration, they talk idly, and drawl out their words like men that have scarce strength to utter them. Old men especially, who yet retain the memory of things past, but forget how often they have related them, are dangerous companions; and I have known very pleasant stories told by a man of quality, that became very nauseous, by being repeated a hundred times over in the same company. The second obligation I have to this weak memory of mine is, that I less remember the injuries done to me, so that (as the ancient said) I should have a prompter, like *Darius*, who that he might not forget the affront he had received from the Athenians, whenever he sat down to table, ordered one of his pages to repeat three times in his ear, 'Sir, remember the Athenians *:' moreover, the places which I revisit, and the books which I read over again, always seem new to me.

It is not without reason said, that he who has not a good memory, should never offer to tell lies. I know very well, that the grammarians distinguish betwixt an untruth and a lie, and say, that to tell an untruth, is to tell a thing that is false, which we ourselves however believe to be true; and that the Latin word '*mentiri*, i. e. *contra mentem ire*,' means to go and act against the conscience; and that therefore this only touches those who speak contrary to what they know, who are the persons I point at. Now these do either wholly invent a story out of their own heads, or else marr and disguise one that has a real foundation. When they disguise and alter, by often telling the same story, they can scarce avoid contradicting themselves, by reason that the real fact having first taken possession in the memory, and being there imprinted by the way of knowledge and science, it will be ever ready to present itself to the imagination, and to dislodge falsehood, which cannot have so sure and settled a footing there as certainty; and because the circumstances which they first heard, evermore running in their minds, make them forget those that are forged or foisted

* Herodot. lib. v. p. 374.

foisted in. As to what they wholly invent; forasmuch as there is no contrary impression to give a shock to their forgery, there seems to be the less danger of their tripping; and yet even this also, by reason it is a meer phantom, and not to be laid hold of, is very apt to escape the memory, if it be not very perfect. I have had very pleasant experience of this at the expence of such as profess only to accommodate their discourse to the business they have in hand, or to the humour of the great men with whom they converse; for the circumstances to which they are ready to sacrifice their honour and conscience, being subject to several changes, their language must needs vary at the same time: from whence it happens, that of the same thing, they tell one man, 'it is this,' and another, 'it is that,' giving it different forms and colours; and if by accident those men compare notes upon informations so contrary, what becomes of this fine art? besides, they are such fools, that they often contradict themselves; for what a memory need they have, to retain so many different forms as they have forged upon one and the same subject! I have known many, in my time, very ambitious of the reputation of this fine sort of wisdom; but they do not see, that if there be a reputation in it, it can answer no end.

In plain truth, lying is a cursed vice. We are men who have no other tie upon one another but our word. If we considered the horrid consequences of a lie, we should prosecute it with vengeance, as the worst of crimes.

I perceive how absurdly children are usually corrected for innocent faults, and are made to smart for rash actions that are of no significance or consequence. The faculty of lying, and what is something of a lower form, stubbornness, seem to be faults that ought, in every instance, to be checked both in their infancy and progress, they being vices which are apt to grow up with them; and, after the tongue has contracted a habit of lying, it is scarce to be imagined how impossible, almost, it is to draw it out of the false track; from whence it comes to pass, that we see some, who are otherwise very honest men, not only subject, but meer slaves to his vice. I have an honest lad to my taylor, whom I never heard speak truth, not even when it might have been to his advantage.

tage. If falshood had, like truth, only one face, we should be upon better terms; for we should then take the contrary of what the liar should say for certain truth; but the reverse of truth has a hundred thousand forms, and a field without limits. The Pythagoreans make Good to be certain and finite, and Evil, infinite and uncertain; there are a thousand ways to miss the white, and only one to hit it. For my own part, I am not sure that I could prevail with my conscience to secure myself from manifest and extreme danger by an impudent and solemn lie. One of the ancient fathers said, 'That we had better be in company with a dog that we know, than with a man whose language we do not understand. Ut externus non alieno sit hominis vice *.' So that two persons of different nations are not men with regard to each other; or as a foreigner, to one who understands what he says, cannot be said to supply the place of a man. And how much less sociable is false speaking than silence?

King Francis I. boasted, that he nonplussed Francisco Taverna, Ambassador of Francis Sforza duke of Milan, a man of great fame for his eloquence, by this means. The ambassador had been dispatched to excuse his master to the king for an action of great consequence, which was this; the king, in order to maintain some correspondence still in *Italy*, out of which he had been lately driven, and particularly in the dutchy of Milan, had thought fit to have a gentleman on his behalf, to reside constantly near the duke; an ambassador in effect, but in appearance as a private man, who pretended to reside there for his own affairs. The reason of this was, that the duke, who depended much more upon the emperor, (at a time especially when he was treating of a marriage with his niece, daughter to the king of Denmark, and since dowager of Lorraine) could not be known to have any correspondence or intelligence with us, without hurting his interest considerably. For this commission a Milanese gentleman was thought proper, viz. one Merveille, who was an equerry to the king. This person being dispatched

* This is a passage out of Pliny, which Montaigne has mangled to adapt it to his sentiment. It runs in Pliny, 'Ut externus alieno per è non sit hominis vice, Nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 1.' So that two persons of different countries are scarce men with regard to one another.

patched with private credentials, and the instructions of ambassador, besides other letters of recommendation to the duke, in favour of his own private concerns, for a mask and a cloak, he staid so long at the duke's court, that the emperor took umbrage at it; which was the occasion, as we suppose, of what followed after, viz. that under pretence of a murder by him committed, his trial was dispatched in two days, and his head struck off in the dead of the night *. The king applying to all the princes of Christendom, and even to the duke himself, to demand satisfaction, Taverna came to the court of France with a long counterfeit story, had his audience at the morning council, where, for the support of his cause he made a plausible harangue, concluding that his master had never looked upon this Merveille for any other than a private gentleman, and his own subject, who came to Milan only about his own affairs, and had never lived there in any other character; absolutely disowning that he had ever heard that he was one of the king's household, or so much as known to his majesty, so far was he from taking him for an ambassador. The King, in his turn, urging several objections and questions to him, and sifting him every way, gravelled him at last, in the circumstance of the execution being performed in the night, and as it were by stealth. To this the poor man, being confounded made answer, in order to shew his complaisance, that, out of respect to his majesty, the duke would have been very sorry that such an execution should have been performed in the day-time. Any one may imagine how he was reprimanded when he came home, for having so grossly prevaricated with a prince of so nice a discernment as king *Francis*.

Pope Julius II. having sent an ambassador to the king of England to animate him against king Francis, the ambassador having had his audience, and the king, in his answer, observing the difficulties that would attend the making such preparations as would be absolutely necessary to cope with so powerful a king, and mentioning some reasons, the ambassador absurdly replied,

* Bellay's Memoirs, lib. iv. fol. 153, &c. Edit. of Paris, 157

plied *, that he himself had also considered them, and had indeed mentioned them to the pope. This speech of his, so different from his errand, which was to push him immediately upon a war, gave the king of England the first glimpse of a conjecture, which was afterwards verified, that the said ambassador was in his heart a friend to France; of which the king of England having advertised the pope, his estate was confiscated, and he had like to have suffered death.

CHAP. X. *Of Readiness or Slowness in Speech.*

On ne furent à tous toutes graces données.

THUS we see, as to the gift of eloquence, some have a facility and readiness of speech, and that which is termed a quick delivery, so fluent, that they are never at a pause; and others there are slow of speech, who never utter a sentence but what has been laboured and premeditated.

As the diversions and exercises of the ladies are so regulated, as to make the best display of their greatest beauty, so in these two different advantages of eloquence, of which the preachers and lawyers of our age seem to be the chief professors, if my opinion was to be taken, I should think the slow speaker would be more proper for the pulpit, and the other for the bar; because the preacher's function allows him as much time as he pleases to prepare himself; and, besides, his is one continued thread of discourse, without intermission; whereas, it is the advocate's interest to enter the lists *extempore*, and the unexpected answers of the adverse party throw him off his bias, so that he is immediately forced to

* Erasmus, in a book of his called *Lingua*, mentions this fact, as a thing that happened while he was in England. He says, that, being detected in conversation with the French ambassador by night, he was committed to prison, all his estate confiscated, and that, if he had fallen into the hands of Julius, he would scarce have escaped with his life. But the consequence of this *lapsus linguæ* was, that the king, who, perhaps, by putting off the affair, might have composed the difference, hastened the war. *Operum Erasmi*, in folio, printed at Leyden, 1703. tom. iv. col. 684.

to strike into a new path. Yet, at the interview betwixt pope *Clement* and king *Francis*, at *Marseilles*, it happened quite contrary, that *M. Poyer*, a man who had been bred up all his life to the bar, and was in high repute, being commissioned to make the harangue to the pope, and having so long studied it beforehand, that, it is said, he brought it quite ready with him from *Paris*; the pope, on the very day that it was to be spoke, for fear lest he should intend to say something that might disgust the ambassadors of the other princes that were about him, sent the king a topick which he thought fittest both for the time and place, but such a topick as was quite different from that which monsieur *Poyer* had taken so much pains about; so that the speech he had prepared remained of no use, and he was forced, that very instant, to set about another; but, finding himself incapable of forming it, the cardinal de *Bellay* was constrained to take that charge upon him. The pleader's province is more difficult than that of the preacher; and yet, in my opinion, we find more passable pleaders than preachers, at least in *France*. It seems that it is the nature of wit to operate speedily, and on a sudden; whereas the operation of judgment is deliberate and slow. But it is as strange for a man to be totally silent for want of leisure to prepare his speech, as it is for another to speak never the better tho' he had leisure.

It is said of *Severus Cassius* *, that he spoke best without having thought of the subject beforehand; that he was more indebted to his fortune than to his diligence; that he spoke best when he was anger'd; and that his adversaries were afraid to provoke him, lest his indignation should give a double edge to his eloquence. I know by Experience, that sort of genius which is so averse to a vehement and painful premeditation, that if it does not operate briskly and freely, performs nothing to the purpose. We say of some works, that they stink of oil, and the lamp, by reason of a certain harshness and roughness, from the labour with which they were composed. But besides this, the solicitude of performing well, and the struggle

* *Seneca's epitome controversiarum*, præf. lib. iii. p. 274. Edition at Geneva, anno 1626.

struggle of the mind too far strained, and too intent upon its undertaking, break the chain of thought, and hinder its progress, as is the case of water, which being pressed by its force and quantity, hardly passes out of the neck of a full bottle, when just open'd. In that sort of genius of which I have been speaking, there is this also, that it does not like to be disordered and stimulated with such strong passions as the wrath of Cælius (for such an impulse would be too rough) it likes not to be shocked, but solicited; and had rather be warmed and roused by sudden and accidental occasions that are foreign to the point. If it be left to itself, it only flags and languishes; agitation gives it grace and vigour. I do not like to be master of myself, and am more under the dominion of chance. Occasion, company, and even the rising and falling of my voice, extract more from my imagination, than I can find in it when I sound it and speculate by myself. Consequently, I speak better than I write, if either was to be preferred, where neither is worth any thing. This also befalls me, that I am absent from myself, and that chance brings me to myself, more than any inspection into my own judgment. I shall throw out a witticism when I write, which I may think very fine and delicate, others dull and lifeless; but to speak freely, every one talks thus of himself according to his talent. For my part, I am so bewildered, that I knew not what I was about to say, and a stranger finds it out before me. Were I to make a rature, as oft as this befalls me, I should have nothing at all to say, but chance will at another time shew it to me, as plain as the sun at noon-day, and make me wonder how I came to hesitate.

C H A P. XI. *Of Prognostications.*

AS for oracles, it is certain that they began to lose their credit long before the birth of Jesus Christ; for we read that Cicero was at a loss to know the reason of it, by his saying, * 'How comes it to pass that the oracles at Delphos are not only now silent, but have been so for a good while, insomuch that nothing is more despised?' but as to the other prognosticks that were derived from the

* Cic. de Divinatione, lib. ii. c. 52.

the anatomy of the beasts at the sacrifices, to which Plato, in some measure, ascribes the natural constitution of the intestines of these beasts; as to the clattering motion of chickens with their feet, the flying of birds: ‘(Aves ‘quasdam, rerum augurandarum causa natas esse putamus * . i. e. We think some sort of birds be created purposely for the sake of augury.) Claps of thunder, the winding of rivers, ‘(Multa cernunt aruspices; multa ‘augures provident; multa oraculis declarantur; multa ‘vaticinationibus; multa somniis; multa portentis †; i. e. soothsayers and augurs conjecture and foresee many things, and many things are foretold in oracles, divination, dreams and prodigies) and as to other of the like nature, upon which the ancients grounded most of their undertakings, whether publick or private, our religion has totally abolished them. And although there yet remain among us some methods of divination from the stars, from spirits, the forms of human bodies, from dreams and the like, a notable instance of the wild curiosity of our nature in amusing itself to anticipate futurity, as if it had not enough to do, to digest the things present.

— cur hanc tibi, rector Olympi,

Solicitis visum mortalibus addere curam,
Noscunt venturas ut dira per omnia clades?

Sit subitum quodcunque paras, sit cæca futuri
Mens hominum fati, liceat sperare timenti ‡. i. e.
Why thou, great ruler of Olympus, why
Hast thou to anxious mortality
Added this care, that men should be so wise
To know, by omens, future miseries?

Unlook'd for send the ills thou hast design'd;
Let human eyes to future fate be blind,
That hope, amidst our fears, some place may find. }
‘Ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit: miserum
‘est enim, nihil proficientem angere” §. i. e. It is of no
avail

* Cic. de natura deorum, lib. ii. c. 64. † Cic. de nat. deorum, lib. ii. c. 65. ‡ Lucan, lib. ii. v. 4, 5, 6, 14, 15. § Cic. de nat. deorum, lib. iii. c. 6.

avail to know what is to come to pass; and it is a miserable thing to be tormented for nothing. Yet divination is of much less authority in our days. Wherefore, I think, Francis marquis de Saluzzo a very notable instance, who, being a lieutenant-general in the army of king Francis, beyond the mountains, a prodigious favourite at our court, and obliged to the king for the said marquisate, which his brother had forfeited; and who withal had no occasion to change his party, his own affection opposing any such step, suffered himself to be so terrified (as it was confidently affirmed) with the favourable prognostications that were universally spread abroad to the advantage of the emperor Charles V. and to our disadvantage (even in Italy, where these idle prophecies had gained such credit, that at Rome a great sum of money was staked on the supposition of our ruin) that, having often condoled with his particular friends for the misfortunes which he saw must unavoidably fall upon the crown of France, and the friends he had there, he revolted, in 1536, and changed sides; but to his great loss however, whatsoever constellation presided at that time. For he behaved in this affair like a man agitated with divers passions; and having both towns and forces at his command, the enemy's army under Antonio de Léva close by him, and we having no manner of suspicion of him, it was in his power to have done worse than he did; for we did not lose a man by his treachery, nor a single town but Fossan, nor even that till a long dispute.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum

Caliginosa nocte premit Deus :

Ridetque si mortalis ultra

Fas trepidat.

— — *ille potens sui*

Lætusque deget, cui licet, in diem

Dixisse, vixi: Cras vel atra

Nube Polum pater occupato,

*Vel sole puro **

Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est

Oderit curare. †. i. e.

The

1. Hor. ode xxix. lib. iii. v. 29. † Ibid. ode xvi. lib. ii. v. 25, 26.

The god of wisdom has in shades of night;
 Future events conceal'd from human sight;
 And smiles with pity at the mortal race
 Trembling for what may never come to pass.

He's master of himself alone,
 He lives that makes each day his own;
 His life is happy, who can say,
 When night comes, I've liv'd well to-day;
 And for to-morrow takes no care,
 Whether the day prove foul or fair.

The man that's chearful in his present state,
 Is never anxious for his future fate.

And they who put a contrary sense on this passage misunderstand it*.

Much more wisely said Pacuvius,

Nam istis qui linguam avium intelligunt,

—Plurque ex alieno jecore sapiunt, quàm ex suo,

—Magis audiendum, quàm auscultandum censeo †. i. e.

As for such who understand the language of birds, and know more by the Liver of an animal than by their own reason, I think it is better to give them a hearing than credit.

The so much celebrated art of divination among the Tuscans, had its rise thus: a ploughman forcing his share deep

* What Montaigne says here, seems at first obscure, and it is not easy to discover its connection with what goes before. But this perplexity proceeds chiefly from the bold and unusual transposition which he has made of the words 'au contraire', which ought to be placed thus, 'au contraire, ceux qui croient ce mot le croient à tort'; i. e. on the contrary, they who believe this passage are in the wrong. It has been quite mistaken in Mr. Cotton's english translation of Montaigne, however just and elegant it may be elsewhere; for hitherto Montaigne had been condemning the prognosticks of futurity, drawn from several tokens, founded merely on human fancy; and now he declares against that principle of the stoicks, quoted by Cicero, 'de divinatione, lib. iii. cap. 6. viz. If there is such a thing as divination, there are gods; and if there are gods, there is divination'. I have been more particular in my preface, to shew the reason of that incoherence for which Montaigne's stile is so much blamed. It is certain that the connection of his sentiments must needs often escape the discernment of an inattentive reader; but I hope that I have demonstrated, that, however common, the connection is very real.

† Pacuvius apud Cic. de divinatione, lib. i. c. 57.

deep into the earth, turned up the Demi-god Tages*, who had the visage of a child, but the wisdom of an old man. Every body flocked to him; and his sayings, and his system, containing the principles of this art, and the means of attaining to it, was compiled, and preserved for many ages. As its rise was, so was its progress. I should chuse rather to regulate my affairs by the turn of a dye, than by such dreams; and, indeed, in all republicks, a good share of authority has ever been left to chance. Plato, in that system of government which he has formed out of his own head, ascribes the decision of several important things to chance; and, amongst the rest, would have marriages of the better † sort of people be appointed by lot: and to such choice by chance he gives so great a sanction, as to order the children born of such marriage to be brought up in the country, and that those of mean parentage should be turned out of it: nevertheless, that if any one, so banished, should, as it grew up, happen to give any hopes of being eminently good, it might be recalled, and those that were kept at home, who gave little expectation of their youth, were as liable to be banished. I see some that pore and comment on their almanacks, producing their authority for occurrences, who after all must needs stumble upon some truth in a number of lies. ‘*Quis est enim qui totum diem jaculans non aliquando conlineet ‡?*’ i. e. Who is there that shoots at a mark all day will not hit it sometimes? I do not think the better of them for some accidental hits. There would be

* Cic. de divinatione, lib. ii. c. 23.

† Indigenæ dixere Tages, qui primus Etruscum.

‡ Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros. Ovid. metam. lib. xv. i. e. He that first taught the Tuscans the knowledge of futurity was by the natives called Tages.

† Viz. In his republic. lib. v. where he requires, that the chiefs of his commonwealth should so order it, that the men of the greatest excellence should be matched with the most excellent women; and, on the contrary, that the most contemptible men should be married to women of their own low character; but that the thing should be decided by a sort of lottery, so artfully managed (καλῶς ποιῆσαι καμφοί) that the latter may blame fortune for it, and not their governors. But there is not one instance of a choice made by chance, and consequently Montaigne might as well have omitted to give us this quotation.

‡ Cic. de divinatione, lib. ii. c. 59.

be more certainty in it, if it was settled as a rule of truth always to lie. Besides, nobody keeps a register of their mis-reckonings, because they are common and endless; but, if they once guess right, their divinations are cried up as rare, incredible, and prodigious. Diagoras, surnamed the atheist, being in the temple of Samothrace, where he saw the many vows and pictures of those that had escaped shipwreck, the person who shewed them, said to him, 'you who think that the gods have no concern for human things, what say you of so many persons sav'd by their favour?' 'so it was,' replied Diagoras; 'but here are not the pictures of those that were drowned, who were much the greater number'. Cicero observes *, that of all the philosophers who acknowledged any deities, Xenophanes of Colophon is the only one that endeavoured to eradicate all manner of divination. And it is not so much to be wondered, if we have seen some of our princes, to their own cost, influenced by these chimeras †. I wish I had with my own eyes seen those two wonderful books, viz. that of Joachim the Calabrian abbot, which foretold all the future popes, their names and shapes; and that of the emperor Leo, which prophesied of the emperors and patriarchs of Greece. This I have been an eye witness of, that in publick confusions, men astonished at their fortune, have abandoned their reason almost totally to superstition, by looking up to the starry heaven for the ancient causes and menaces of their misfortune, and have therein been so surprizingly successful in my time, as to make me believe, that this study, being an amusement for men of penetration and leisure, those who are inclined to this subtilty of explaining and unriddling mysteries, would be capable of finding out what they want to know in all writings whatsoever. But above all, that which gives them the greatest scope is, the obscure, ambiguous, and fantastick part of their prophetic jargon, to which their authors give no clear interpretation, to the end that posterity may make what application of it they please.

The dæmon of Socrates was, perhaps, a certain impulse of the will, which obtruded itself on him without consulting.

* Cicero de nat. deorum, lib. iii. c. 37. † Cic. de divin. lib. i. c. 3.

sulting his own judgment. For in a soul so refined as his was, and prepared by the constant exercise of wisdom and virtue, it is probable, that these inclinations of his, tho' rash and indigested, were always important, and worthy to be followed. Every one finds in himself some image of such agitations of a prompt, vehement and fortuitous opinion. It is my duty to allow them some authority, who attribute so little to our prudence. And I myself have had some agitations, weak in reason, but violent in persuasion, or in dissuasion, (which was the common case with Socrates) by which I have suffered myself to be carried away so much to my own advantage, that they might well be supposed to have something in them of divine inspiration.

C H A P. XII. *Of Constancy.*

BY resolution and constancy it is not implied that we ought not, as much as in us lies, to secure ourselves from the mischiefs and inconveniencies that threaten us; nor, consequently, that we should not be afraid of being surprized by them: on the contrary, all honest means of preserving ourselves from harms are not only allowed of, but commendable. And the business of constancy chiefly is, to suffer, without flinching, those Inconveniencies against which there is no remedy. At the same time, there is no motion of the body, nor any guard in the handling of arms, that we disapprove of, if it serves to defend us from the stroke that is aimed at us. Several very warlike nations have, in their battles, found their chief advantage in a retreat, and done the enemy more mischief by turning their backs to them than their faces. Of which way of fighting the Turks retain something to this day. Socrates, in Plato, rallies Laches, who had defined fortitude to be nothing more nor less, than standing firm in rank to face the enemy: 'what, said he, would it be cowardice to beat them by giving ground?' at the same time he quoted Homer to him, where he commends Æneas for his skill in retreating. And because Laches, upon fresh consideration, owned this was the practice of the Scythians, and in general of all cavalry, he urged another proof from the instance of the infantry of the

the Lacedæmonians, (a nation of all others the most obstinate in maintaining their ground) who, in the battle of Plataea, not being able to break into the Persian phalanx, thought fit to fall back, that the enemy, supposing them flying, might break and disunite their firm body in the pursuit, by which means the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory. As for the Scythians, it is said of them, that when Darius set out on his expedition to subdue them, he sent to reproach their king with cowardice, for always retiring before him, and declining a battle; to which Indathyrhis (for that was his name) made answer, ' that he did ' so not for fear of him, or of any man living, but that ' it was the way of marching in his country, where there ' were neither tilled fields, nor town, nor house to defend, ' or to fear the enemy could make any advantage of: but ' that if he had such a voracious appetite, let him only ' come and view their ancient place of sepulture, and ' there he should have his belly-full *'.

Nevertheless, as to cannon which is levelled for a mark, as the occasions of war often require, it is shameful to quit a post to avoid the threatened blow, so much as, by reason of the violence and velocity of the shot we account it inevitable; and many an one by ducking the head, or holding up the hand, has furnished matter for his comrades to laugh at. And yet, in the expedition which the emperor Charles V. made against us in Provence, the marquis de Guast going to reconnoitre the city of Arles, and venturing to advance out of the shelter of a windmill, by the favour of which he made his approach so near the town as he had done, he was spied by the seigneurs de Bonneval and the seneschal d'Agenois as they were walking on the theatre des arenes †, who having shewed him to monsieur de Villiers, commissary of the artillery, he levelled a culverin at him so exactly right, that had not the marquis, upon seeing fire given to it, instantly popp'd to one side, it was taken for granted he would have been shot in the body. And, in like manner, some years before this, Lorenzo de Medicis, duke of Urbino, father to the queen mother of France, laying siege to Mondolpho, in those parts called the vicariate of Italy,

* Herodotus, lib. iv. p. 300, 301.

† The theatre for the publick shews of riding, fencing, &c.

Italy, seeing the gunner give fire to a piece that pointed directly at him, was so fortunate as to duck down that moment, or otherwise the ball, that only grazed the top of his head, would doubtless have hit him on the breast. To speak truth, I do not think that these dodgings are made with judgment; for how is any man living able to judge of high or low aim on so sudden an occasion? and it is much more natural to think, that fortune favoured their fear, and that the same motion, at another time, might as well put a person into danger, as free him from it. For my own part, I cannot forbear starting when the noise of a gun thunders in my ears on a sudden, and in a place where I have no reason to expect it, which I have also observed in other men of stouter hearts than mine. Neither do the stoicks mean that the soul of their philosopher should be proof against the first surprize, by visions and fancies; and they think that it is but natural for him to be shocked by the terrible rattle of thunder, or the fall of some ruin, for instance, even so as to turn pale, or be convulsed (as well as in the other passions.) And this the stoicks, I say, dispense with in their wise man, provided his judgment remains sound and entire, and that the seat of his reason suffers no concussion nor alteration whatsoever, and that he yields no consent to his fright and disturbance. A fright is the same thing to him who is not a philosopher, in the first part of it, but it is quite another case with him in the second; for, in such a one, the impression of the passions does not remain superficial only, but penetrates even to the seat of his reason, so as to infect and corrupt it. According to his passions he judges and conforms his conduct. But in this verse you may see the state of the wise stoick elegantly and plainly expressed:

Mens immota manet, lacrymæ voluntur inanes *.

The mind doth fix'd remain,

While tears are shed in vain.

The peripatetick philosopher is not exempt from the perturbations of the mind, but he keeps them within bounds.

C H A P.

* Virg. lib. iv. v. 449.

C H A P. XIII. *Of the ceremony at the interview of princes.*

TH E R E is no subject so frivolous, that does not merit a place in this rhapsody. According to our common rules of civility, it would be unpolite behaviour to an equal, and much more to a superior, to fail of being at home, when he has given you notice that he will come to pay you a visit. Nay, queen Margaret of Navarre carried the point farther, by saying, that it is uncivil in a gentleman to go out of his house, as is a common practice, to meet any one coming to see him, be he ever so great a man; and that it is more respectful and civil to stay at home to receive him, were it only for fear of missing him by the way; and that it is enough to accompany him to his apartment. For my part, who am for as little ceremony as possible, in my own house, I often forget both these vain offices. If any one be offended, what would you have me do? it is better to offend him once, than myself every day; for it would be a perpetual slavery. To what end do we avoid the servile attendance of courts, if we bring the same home to our own cottages? it is also a common rule in all assemblies, that those of less quality should be the first at the place of assignation, because to be waited on, is an honour, to which those of the greatest distinction have the best title.

Nevertheless, at the interview betwixt pope Clement VII and king Francis, at Marseilles, in 1533, the king, after he had given order for the necessary preparations, went out of town, and gave the pope two or three days respite for his entry and refreshment, before he came to him. And in like manner also, at the interview betwixt the same pope and the emperor Charles V. at Bologna, the latter end of the year 1532, the emperor gave leave to the pope to be there first, and then went thither himself. It is, they say, a common ceremony at the conferences of such princes, that the greatest should be at the place appointed before the others, nay, before him in whose territories they are to meet; and the reason is, because it should seem proper for the inferiors to seek out and apply to the greater, and not he to them.

Not

Not every country only, but every city, and even every profession has a particular form of civility. I was carefully enough educated when a child, and have lived in too good company to be ignorant of the ceremonial laws of our French nation, and am able to train up others in the same knowledge. I love also to follow them, but not so servilely as to be enslaved to them all my life-time. They have some painful formalities, the omission of which, provided it be discretional, and not thro' mistake, is no breach of decorum. I have often seen people rude by being over civil, and troublesome in their courtesy.

As for the rest, to know how to behave well, is a very useful science. Like gracefulness and beauty, it creates a liking at the very beginning of an acquaintance and familiarity, and, by consequence, opens a door for our instruction, by the example of others, and for displaying and producing ourselves for a model, if it has any thing in it that is instructive, and fit to be communicated.

CHAP. XIV. *That the obstinate defence of a place that is not in reason to be defended, deserves to be punished.*

VALOUR has its bounds, as well as other virtues, which once transgressed, the next step is into the territories of vice; so that, unless a man be very perfect in its limits, which are indeed not easily to be distinguished, such ill judged valour leads to rashness, obstinacy, and folly.

From this consideration is derived the custom, in time of war, of punishing, even with death, such as are obstinate in defending a place which, by the rules of war, is not tenable: else men would be so confident, upon the hopes of impunity, that every hen-roost would stop an army. The constable de Montmorency, at the siege of Pavia, having orders to pass the Tefin, and to take up his quarters in the suburb of St. Anthony, being hindered from doing so by a tower at the end of the bridge, which was so obstinate as to stand a battery, he hanged up every man he found in it. And again, afterwards, when he accompanied the dauphin in his expedition beyond the Alps, and took the castle of Villane by storm, all within it were

put

put to the sword by the enraged soldiers, except the captain and the ensign, whom he caused to be trussed up for the same reason. In like manner the captain Martin du Ballay, then governor of Turin, in the same country, treated the captain de St. Bony, the rest of his men being cut to pieces at the taking of the place. But forasmuch as the strength or weakness of a place is always judged of by the number and weight of the forces that attack it, (for a man might reasonably enough despise two culverins, that would be mad if he stood the battery of thirty cannon) taking also into the account the power of the prince who is master of the field, his reputation, and the respect due to him, it is to be feared, the balance will incline a little on that side: and from hence it happens that such princes have so great an opinion of themselves and their measures, that thinking it unreasonable that any place should presume to make head against them, they put all to the sword that resist them, as long as their fortune continues, as we see by the proud and haughty forms of summoning towns, and denouncing war, favouring so much of Barbarian insolence in use among the oriental princes, and their successors, to this day. And in that corner which the Portuguese lopped off from the Indies, they found some dominions in which it was an universal and inviolable law, that no enemy who was defeated by the king in person, or by his lieutenant or representative, should be entitled either to a ransom or mercy. So that, above all things, it is absolutely necessary for every man to take care lest he fall into the hands of a judge who is a victorious enemy, and armed for execution.

C H A P. XV. *Of the punishment of cowardice.*

Once heard of a prince, a very great warrior, who asserted, that a soldier ought not to be put to death because he had a faint heart; and that he said this at table, upon being told the story of the proceedings against monsieur de Vervins, and of his being sentenced to death for having given up Boulogne. Indeed, it is reasonable that a man should make a great difference betwixt faults which proceed from our weakness, and those that are

absolutely owing to our malice ; for in the latter we act wilfully against the rules of that reason which nature has planted in us ; and in the former it seems that we may appeal for our vindication to that same nature for having left us in such a state of imperfection and pusillanimity. Insomuch, that it has been thought by many, we are not blameable for any thing but what we commit against the light of our conscience : and it is partly upon this rule that those ground their opinion, who disapprove the inflicting capital punishments upon hereticks and infidels ; and on this also is partly founded their opinion, who hold that an advocate and a judge are not accountable for having failed in their commissions through ignorance.

Now, as to cowardice, it is certain that the most usual way of correcting it is by disgrace and ignominy. It is supposed that this rule was first practised by the legislator Charondas ; and that before his time, those who fled from battle were, by the laws of Greece, punished with death * : whereas he only ordained, that they should be exposed three days together in the midst of a publick square, dressed in women's apparel, hoping that they might still become useful, when this shame had roused their courage ; chusing rather, as Tertullian says, † ‘ *suffundere malis hominis sanguinem quam effundere* ;’ i. e. chusing rather to raise the blood of a man in his cheeks, than to draw it out of his veins. It seems also, that heretofore those who fled were, by the Roman laws, put to death : for Ammianus Marcellinus says ‡, that the emperor Julian condemned ten of his soldiers, who ran away in the action with the Parthians, to be broke, and then, according to the ancient laws, to be put to death. Yet, at another time, he sentenced others §, for a like fault, only to pass their time among the prisoners and baggage. The Romans severe punishment of the soldiers, who fled from the battle of Cannæ, and of those, in the same war, who ran away with Cneius Fulvius, at his defeat,

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. 12. cap. 4.

† Tertullian in apologet. p. 583. tom. ii. edit. at Paris, 1566. In this place Tertullian speaks of a most severe law against debtors, which was annulled by the emperor Severus ; who instead of putting them to death, ordered their effects to be seized, and sold.

‡ Lib. xxiv. c. 4. of the Lyons edition in 1600.

§ Lib. xxv. c. 1.

feat, did not extend to death. But it is to be feared that shame makes such delinquents desperate, and renders them not only cool friends, but warm enemies.

In 1523, monsieur de Franget, a lieutenant in marshal de Chatillon's company, being appointed governor of Fontarabia, by the marshal de Chabannes, in the room of monsieur de Lude, surrendered it to the Spaniards, for which he was degraded from the Rank of nobility, and both he and his posterity declared plebeians, taxable for ever, and incapable of bearing arms; which severe sentence was executed at Lyons. In 1536, all the gentlemen who were in Guise, suffered the like punishment, when the count de Nassau entered that town, and others have been treated in like manner since that time, for the like offence. Nevertheless, in an instance of such gross and palpable ignorance or cowardice as exceeds all common cases, it is but reason to take it for a sufficient proof of treachery and malice, and to punish it as such.

C H A P. XVI. *A passage of some ambassadors.*

IN my travels I make it my practice, to put those I discourse with upon those subjects which they best understand, that I may learn something from their information, than which there cannot be a better school in the world.

- * *Basti al nochiero ragionare de venti*
Al bifolco de i Tori, e le sue piaghe
Conti'l guerrier, conti'l pastor gli armenti,
Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator,
Ememorat miles vulnera, pastor oves.
 The pilot best of winds does talk,
 The peasant of his cattle;
 The shepherd of his fleecy flock;
 The soldier of his battle.

For it commonly happens, on the contrary, that people chuse to be dealing in other mens business rather than their own, as thinking it the gain of so much new reputation; witness the jeer that Periander received from Ar-

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chidamus,

* These Italian verses of Ariosto are a perfect imitation of the distich in Propertius, which follows it, lib. ii. eleg. i. v. 43. 44.

chidamus, viz. ' that he abandoned the character of an ' able physician, to gain that of a sorry poet'. Do but observe what a deal of pains Cæsar takes to let us know his inventions for building bridges and inventions for war, and how concise he is when he comes to speak of the duties of his profession, valour, and military conduct. His exploits prove him a very excellent commander ; but he desired also to be known for as good an engineer, an art in some measure foreign to his character. Dionysius the elder was a very great general, as well became his fortune, but he studied chiefly to recommend himself by poetry, for which however he had no talent. A gentleman of the long robe being brought some days ago to a study, which was furnished with all sorts of books, both of his own and all other faculties, took no occasion to entertain himself with any of them, but fell very roughly and magisterially to descant upon a barricado over against the study, which a hundred captains and common soldiers see every day without taking any notice, or giving offence.

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus *. i. e.

The lazy ox would saddle have and bit,

The steed a yoke, neither for either fit.

This is the way for a man never to do any thing considerable ; so that he must always endeavour to leave the architect, the painter, the shoemaker, and every other mechanick to his own trade.

And to this purpose, in reading histories, which is every body's subject, I have been used to consider what kind of men are the writers. If they make no other profession than that of literature, their stile and language is what I chiefly attend to ; if they are physicians, I am the more ready to credit them in what they tell us of the air, the health and constitution of princes, of wounds and diseases ; if lawyers, we are by them to be guided in the controversies of *meum* and *tuum*, the nature of the laws, and civil government, and the like ; if divines, in church-affairs, ecclesiastical censures, dispensations and marriages ;

* Horace, ep. xiv. lib. i. v. 43.

marriages; if courtiers, in manners and ceremonies; if soldiers, the things that belong to their duty, and especially in the narratives they give of actions wherein they have been personally present; and if ambassadors, we are to observe their negotiations, intelligences and practices, and the manner of conducting them. And this is the reason why (though perhaps I should have lightly passed it over in another, without insinuating on it) I paused, and maturely considered a passage in the history writ by M. de Langey, a man of very great understanding in things of that nature, which was, the fine remonstrances he gives us that were made by the emperor Charles V. at the consistory of Rome, in the presence of the bishop of Maçon and monsieur de Velley, our ambassadors, wherein he mixed several invectives against our nation; and amongst others, said, 'that if his officers and soldiers were not better to be trusted, and had not more skill in the art of war than those of the king, he would go that moment to the king with a rope about his neck, and sue to him for mercy'. And it really seems as if the emperor had no better opinion of our soldiery, because he happened afterwards, twice or thrice in his life, to say the very same thing; and he also challenged the king to fight him in his shirt with sword and dagger, in a boat. Monsieur de Langey proceeding in his history, adds, that the said ambassadors in their dispatches to the king, concealed the greatest part from him, and particularly the two last passages. Now I wonder how any ambassador can excuse himself for not giving his master the due information of things of such consequence coming from such a person, and spoke in so great an assembly. I should rather conceive it had been the servant's duty faithfully to have represented things in their full light, as they happened, to the end that the sovereign might be at liberty to order, judge, and dispose of matters as he pleased: for the disguising or concealing the truth from him, for fear he should take it in a wrong sense, and lest it should prompt him to take wrong measures, and in the mean time to leave him ignorant of his affairs, should seem methinks, rather to belong to him who gives law, than

to him who receives it ; to him who is the guardian and master of the school, and not to him who ought to look upon himself as inferior, not only in authority, but in prudence and good counsel. Be this as it will, I should not like to be served so in my little sphere.

We are so ready to slip the collar of command upon any pretence, and usurp upon dominion, and every one does so naturally aspire to liberty, and authority, that no advantage which a superior derives from those who serve him, ought to be so dear to him as their sincere and cordial obedience. To obey him from discretion, and not from subjection *, is to corrupt or injure the office of command. And P. Crassus, whom the Romans reckoned happy in five respects †, having, while he was consul in Asia, ordered an engineer of Greece to bring him the largest of two masts of Ships that he had seen at Athens, for a certain battering engine which he proposed to make with it, the engineer, presuming upon his own discretion, thought fit to make a different choice, and carried him the lesser of the two masts, which, according to the rules of art, was also the most convenient ; Crassus, having patiently heard his reasons, caused him to be very heartily scourged, thereby preferring correction to the profit he might have received from the work. It might, however, be considered, on the other hand, that such strict obedience is due only to commands that are precise and peremptory. The function of ambassadors is not so limited, but it, in many particulars, depends absolutely on their own discretion. They are not barely the executioners of their sovereign's will and pleasure, but by their advice they form and model it ; and I have, in my time, known persons in authority reproved, for having rather obeyed the express words of the king's letters, than the exigency of the affairs before their eyes. Men of understanding do, even to this day, condemn the practice of

* I find, in Barbeyrac's notes upon Puffendorff, that this thought is taken from Aulus Gellius, lib. i. c. 13.

† That he was very rich, most noble, most eloquent, most skilful in the law, and the highest in the priesthood, or pontifex maximus. Auli Gellii Noctes Atticæ, lib. 1. c. 13.

of the kings of Persia, in giving their lieutenants and agents such scanty instructions, that, upon every minute difficulty, they are fain to have recourse to their orders; this delay, in so vast an extent of dominion, having often remarkably prejudiced their affairs. And Crassus, in writing to a man who professed and understood the mechanicks, and informing him of the purpose for which he intended this mast, did he not seem to consult his opinion, and invite him to interpose his judgment?

C H A P. XVII. Of fear.

*Obstupui, sieteruntque comæ et vox faucibus hæsit *.*

I was amaz'd; struck speechless, and my hair
On end upon my head did wildly stare.

I Am not a good naturalist († as they call it) and scarce know by what springs fear operates in us; but this I know, that it is a strange passion, and the physicians say, that there is not one of all the passions that sooner de-thrones our judgment from its natural seat. Verily, I have seen a great many people whom fear hath made frantick, and it is certain, that in persons the most composed, it creates terrible confusion while the fit is upon them. I omit the vulgar sort of people, to whom it one while represents their great grandfathers risen out of their graves in their shrowds, another while hobgoblins, spectres, and chimæras; but even amongst the soldiers, who ought to be possessed with the least share of it, how often have they mistaken a flock of harmless sheep for armed squadrons, reeds and bulrushes for pikes and lances, friends for enemies, and the white cross of France for the red one of Spain? In 1527, when the duke of Bourbon took Rome, an Ensign, who was upon guard at the Bourg St. Pierre, was so frightened at the very first alarm, that he threw himself out of the breach with the colours in his hand, and ran directly from the town upon the enemy, thinking all the while that he was retreating towards the inward defences of the city, till at
D 4 last,

* Virg. *Æneid.* lib. ii. v. 774.

† Montaigne shews, by this parenthesis, that the term Naturalist was but just adopted into the French language.

last, seeing the duke of Bourbon's men draw up to face the besieged, who they thought were making a sally, he with much ado found his mistake, and then turning about he retreated through the same breach thro' which he came out, but not till he had advanced above a quarter of a mile into the field against the besiegers. It did not fall out quite so happily for captain Julius's ensign, when St. Pol was taken from us by the count de Bures, and M. de Reu, for he being so very much scared as to throw himself out of the town, colours and all, through a port-hole, he was cut to pieces by the besiegers: and, at the same siege, very remarkable was the fright which so seized, contracted, and froze up the heart of a gentleman, that he sunk down stone dead in the breach without any wound.

The like passion does sometimes operate upon a multitude altogether. In one of Germanicus's encounters with the Germans, two great parties were so scared, that they fled two different ways, each running to the place from which the other set out. Sometimes it adds wings to the heels, as it did to the two first, and sometimes nails the feet to the ground, and setters them; as we read of the emperor Theophilus*, who, in a battle wherein he was defeated by the Agaranes, was so astonished and stupified, that he had no power to fly, so much does fear dread even the means of safety, till such time as Manuel, one of the chief generals of his army, having jogged and shook him so, as to rouse him out of his trance, said to him, 'sir, if you will not follow me, I will kill you; for it is better that you should lose your life, than by being taken prisoner to lose your empire.'

Fear then expresses its utmost force, when, after it has deprived us of all sense, both of duty and honour, it makes us act like desperadoes. In the first fair battle which the Romans lost against Hannibal, in the consulship of Sempronius†, a body of at least 10,000 foot, which had taken a fright, seeing no other escape for their cowardice, forced their way through the bulk of the enemy's army, which they penetrated with prodigious fury, and made a great slaughter of the Carthaginians, by that means purchasing

* Quintus Curtius, lib. iii. sect. 11.
c. 5.

† Tit. Liv. lib. xxi.

chasing an ignominious flight, as dearly as they might have done a glorious victory.

The thing I am most afraid of is, fear, because it is a passion which supercedes and suspends all others. What affliction could be greater and more just than that of Pompey's friends, who in his ship were spectators of that horrid massacre? yet so it was, that the fear of the Egyptian vessels *, which they saw approaching to them, stifled that passion to such a degree, that it is observed they did nothing but press the rowers to make haste away, for fear of being surrounded by the enemy, till they arrived at Tyre, and that there, being delivered from their apprehension, they had leisure to turn their thoughts again to the loss they had so lately sustained, and to give such vent to those lamentations and tears which this other more prevalent passion had suspended.

Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat †.
i. e.

My mind which fear had then oppress'd,
Was of all judgment dispossest.

Such as have been soundly thrashed in some skirmish, may yet all bruised and bloody, as they are to be brought on again next day to the charge; but those who have once conceived a dread of the enemy, will never be brought so much as to look him in the face. They who are in fear every day of losing their estates, of banishment, or of being made slaves, live in perpetual anguish, without appetite or rest; whereas such as are naturally poor slaves and exiles, often live as merrily as those in better condition. And so many people who, not able to bear the terrors of fear, have hanged, drowned, and thrown themselves from precipices, have convinced us that fear is even more vexatious and insupportable than death.

The Greeks acknowledge another kind of fear, which is not caused by an error of our judgment, proceeding, say they, from no visible cause, but by an impulse from heaven; so that whole armies and nations have been struck with it. Such was that which brought so wonderful a desolation upon Carthage, where nothing was to be

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heard

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii. c. 27.

† Id. lib. iv. c. 8.

heard but outcries and shrieks: the inhabitants ran out of their houses as if they were ready to fall on their heads, and they attacked, wounded, and killed one another, as if they had been so many enemies come to take their city *. They were all, in short, in the strangest disorder and distraction, till by prayer and sacrifices they had appeased the anger of the gods. This is what they call Panick Terrors †.

CHAP. XVIII. *That we are not to judge of man's happiness before his death.*

—scilicet ultima semper
*Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus,
Ante obitum nemo supremæque funera debet ‡.*

Till man's last day is come we should not dare,
Of happiness to say what was his share;
Since of no man can it be truly said,
That he is happy till he first be dead.

THERE is scarce a boy at school but knows the story of king Cræsus to this purpose, who being taken prisoner by Cyrus, and condemned to suffer death, cried out, a little before his death, O Solon, Solon! § which being reported to Cyrus, and he enquiring what it meant, Cræsus gave him to understand, that he now was convinced, to his cost, of the truth of that warning which was formerly given him by Solon, viz. to call no man happy, how much soever fortune smiled upon him, till he had passed over the last day of his life, by reason of the uncertainty and vicissitude of human affairs, which are apt to change, in a trice, from one condition to another that is quite the reverse to it: and therefore it was, that Agestilaus said, in answer to one who pronounced the king of Persia a happy man for coming very young to such a height of power, 'it is true, but neither was Priam at such an age unhappy ||'. We have known some of the kings of

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xv. c. 7.

† Id. ibid. and Plutarch in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, c. 8.

‡ Ovid. Metam. lib. iii. fab. 2. v. 5. § Herodot. lib. i. p. 40

|| Plutarch, in his notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

of Macedon, successors of Alexander the great, who were reduced to be joiners and carpenters at Rome; tyrants of Sicily, to be school-masters at Corinth; a conqueror of one half of the World, and general of many armies, a miserable supplicant to the beggarly officers of a king of Egypt. So dear did the great Pompey pay for a reprieve, of five or six months, from death; and in the time of our fathers, that Lewis Sforza, the tenth duke of Milan, who had so long made all Italy tremble, died in prison at Lanches *, and what was worse for him, he had suffered imprisonment ten years. That most beautiful queen †, the widow of the greatest king in Christendom, did not she die by the hand of an executioner? Base and barbarous cruelty! And to this might be added a thousand more instances of the same kind; for, as storms and tempests are provoked at the pride and loftiness of our structures, it would seem that there are spirits above which envy the grandeur of this lower world.

*Usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam
Obierit, et pulchros fasces, sævasque secures
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur ‡.*

Translation of Mr. CREECH.

And hence we fancy unseen powers in things,
Whose force and will such strange confusion brings,
And spurn and overthrow our greatest kings. }

And it would seem also as if fortune sometimes lies in wait to surprize the last day of our lives, to shew the power she has in one moment to overthrow what she was so many years erecting, and makes us cry out with Laberius, * *Nimirum hac die unâ plus vixi mihi quàm vivendum fuit §*; i. e. I have therefore lived one day too long. And in this sense, it were reasonable to attend to the good advice of Solon; but he being a philosopher, with which sort of men the favours and frown of fortune stand

* In the reign of Lewis XII. who confined him there, Anno 1500.

† Mary, queen of Scotland, and mother of James I. king of England, was beheaded in this kingdom, by order of queen Elizabeth, in 1587. Montaigne surely wrote this long after the passage in the following chapter, where he tells us, that the year he then wrote in, was but 1572; but we do not find this particular in the quarto edition of 1:88.

‡ Lucr. lib. 5. v. 1231, &c.

§ Macrobius, lib. ii. c. 7.

stand for nothing, either to the making a man happy or unhappy, and with whom grandeur and power, accidents of quality, are in a manner quite indifferent. I am apt to think, that he had some farther aim, and meant, that the very felicity of our lives, which depends on the tranquillity and satisfaction of a generous mind, and on the resolution and stability of a well composed soul, ought never to be pronounced as the enjoyment of any man, till he has been seen to play the last, and doubtless the hardest act of his part. In all the rest there may have been some disguise. Either these fine lessons of philosophy are only to keep us in countenance, or accidents, not touching us to the quick, give us leisure always to keep up the same gravity; but in this last scene, betwixt death and us, there is no more playing the counterfeit, we must speak plain, and if there be any purity and simplicity at the bottom, it must be discovered.

*Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, et eripitur persona, manet res *.*

For then their words will with their thoughts agree,
And all the mask pull'd off, show what they be.

Therefore this last act ought to be the criterion or touchstone by which all the other actions of our life ought to be tried and sifted. It is the grand day, it is the day that is judge of all the rest; 'it is the day,' says one of the antients, 'by which all my years past are to be judged.' To death do I submit the trial of the fruit of my studies. It will then appear whether my discourses came only from my mouth, or from my heart. I have known many who, by their death, have given a good or a bad reputation to their whole lives. Scipio, the Father-in-law of Pompey †,
by

* Lucret. lib. iii. v. 57. 58.

† This remark is taken, if I mistake not, from Seneca. It is a pretty long passage, but so curious a one, that I cannot help transcribing it here. Seneca, desirous to fortify his friend against the terrors of death, said to him, in the first place, 'I should prevail on you with more ease, were I to show, that not only heroes have despised the moment of the soul's departure out of the body, but that even dastards have in this matter equalled those of the greatest fortitude of mind.' And immediately after he adds, 'Even like that, Scipio, the father-in-law of Cn. Pompey, who, being drove by contrary winds to the coast of Africa, when he saw his ship detained by the enemy, stabb'd himself with his own sword; and to
those

by dying well, expunged the ill opinion which had till then been conceived of him. Epaminondas being interrogated which of the three men he had in greatest esteem, Chabrias, Ipicrates, or himself *; 'we must all die,' said he, 'before that question can be resolved.' It would really be doing vast injustice to that personage to scan him, without considering how great and honourable was his end. The Almighty has ordered every thing as it best pleased him; but, in my time, three of the most execrable persons that ever I knew, most abominably vicious, and the most infamous to boot, died regular deaths, and in all circumstances composed, even to perfection. There are some deaths that are grave and happy. I have seen the thread † of a person's life cut in his progress to wonderful advancement, and in the prime of his years, who made so glorious an exit, that, in my opinion, his ambitious and courageous projects had nothing so sublime in them, as the manner in which he bore their interruption; and he arrived, without completing his course, at the place he proposed, with more grandeur and glory, than he could desire or hope for; anticipating, by his fall, the fame and power to which he aspired in his career. In the judgment I form of another man's life; I always observe how he behaves at the end of it; and the chief study of my own, is, that my latter end may be decent, calm and silent.

C H A P.

'those who asked him where the general was? said, The general is well. This word equalled him to his superiors, and did not suffer the glory fatal to the Scipios in Africa to be interrupted. It was a great task to conquer Carthage, but a harder to conquer death.' Seneca, *Epist.* 24.

* Plutarch, in his notable sayings of the ancient kings, princes, and generals.

† It is very probable, that Montaigne speaks here of his friend Boetius, at whose death he was present, as appears by a speech which Montaigne caused to be printed at Paris, in 1571, wherein he mentions the most remarkable particulars of Boetius's sickness and death. As this speech does honour to both these eminent friends, and is become very scarce, I shall insert it hereafter.

C H A P. XIX. *That he who studies philosophy, learns to die.*

CICERO says, 'That the study of philosophy is 'nothing more or less than a man's preparation for 'his death.' The reason of which is, because study and contemplation do in some sort withdraw and employ the soul apart from the body, which is a kind of discipline for death, and a resemblance of it; or else because all the wisdom and reasoning in the world terminates at last in this point, to teach us not to fear to die. And, to say the truth, either our reason abuses us, or it ought to have no other aim but our satisfaction, and no other exercise, in short, but to make us live well, and, as the holy scripture says, * at our ease. The opinions of all mankind agree in this, that pleasure is our end, tho' men use divers means to attain to it, otherwise they would be rejected as soon as started; for who would give ear to a man that should establish our affliction and misery for his end? The disputes of the philosophick sects in this point are merely verbal, 'Transcurramus solertissimas nugas †; i. e. Let us skip over those learned trifles, in which there is more obstinacy and quibbling than is consistent with so sacred a profession; for what character soever a man undertakes to personate, he ever mixes his own part with it.

Let all the philosophers say what they will, the mark at which we all aim, even in virtue itself, is pleasure. I love to rattle this word in their ears, because it is so very grating to them; and if it denotes any supreme delight, or excessive satisfaction, it is more owing to the assistance of virtue than to any other aid. This pleasure, for being more gay, nervous, robust and manly, is only the more seriously voluptuous; and we ought to give it the name of pleasure, as that which is more favourable, gentle and natural; not that of vigour, from which we have denominated it. The other more sordid pleasure, if it deserve so fair a name, it ought to be upon account
of

* Ecclesiastes, chap. iii. v. 12. 'I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice and do good in his life.'

† Seneca, epist. 117.

of concurrence, not by privilege. I do not think it less free from inconveniencies and crosses than virtue. Besides that the enjoyment of it is more momentary, flashy and frail; it has its watchings, fastings, and labours, even to sweat and blood; and, moreover has so many several sorts of wounding passions in particular, and so stupid a satiety attending it, that it is as bad as doing penance. We are very much mistaken to suppose that its inconveniencies serve as a spur to it, and as a seasoning for its sweetness, as we see in nature, that one contrary is quickened by another; and to say, when we come to virtue, that the like consequences and difficulties overwhelm it, and render it austere and inaccessible; whereas, much more aptly than in voluptuousness, they ennoble, sharpen, and heighten the divine and perfect pleasure which virtue procures us. He is certainly very unworthy of being acquainted with it, who weighs the expence against the profit of it, and knows not the charms of it, nor how to use it. They who preach to us that the pursuit of it is rugged and painful, but the fruition of it pleasant, what do they mean by it, but that it is always disagreeable? For what human means ever arrived to the attainment of it? The most perfect have been forced to content themselves with aspiring to it, and to approach it without possessing it. Of all the pleasures which we know, the very pursuit of them is pleasant. The attempt favours of the quality of the thing which it has in view; for it is a good part of, and substantial with the effect. The felicity and rectitude which shines in virtue, fills up all its apartments and avenues even from its first entrance to its utmost limits.

One of the chief benefits of virtue is, the contempt of death, an advantage which accommodates human life with a soft and easy tranquillity, and gives us a pure and amiable taste of it, without which every other pleasure is extinct; which is the reason why all the rules of philosophy centre and concur in this one article. And tho' they all unanimously teach us in like manner to despise sorrow, poverty, and other accidents to which the life of man is subject, yet they are not so solicitous about it, not only because these accidents do not so necessarily require it, many men passing their whole lives without

without feeling poverty, sickness or sorrow, as Xenophilus *, the musician, who lived to the age of a hundred and six, in perfect health ; but also because at the worst, death can, when ever he pleases, cut short, and put an end to all other inconveniencies : But as to death it is inevitable.

Omnes eodem cogimur ; omnium

Versatur urna ; serius, ocyus

Sors exitura, et nos in æternum

Exilium impositura Cymbæ. † i. e.

To the same fate we must all yield by turn,

Sooner or later, all must to the urn :

When Charon calls abroad, we must not stay,

But to eternal exile sail away.

By consequence, if it fright us, it is a continual torment, of which there can be no mitigation ; and there is no way by which we can possibly avoid it. We may incessantly turn our heads this way and that way, as if we were in a suspicious country, 'quæ quasi saxum Tantalus, semper impendit ‡,' i. e. like the rock of Tantalus, it always hangs over our heads ready to fall. Our courts of justice often send condemned criminals to be executed at the place where the fact was committed : And were they to be carried to all the fine houses by the way, and to give them as good cheer as you please,

— non Siculæ Dapes

Dulcem elaborabunt saporem :

Non avium citharæque cantus

Somnum reducent §.

The best Sicilian dainties would not please,

Nor yet of birds, or harps, the harmonies

Once charm asleep, or close their watchful Eyes. }

Do you think it would make them merry, and that the fatal end of their journey being continually before their eyes, would not deprave their tastes, so as to have no relish for any of these delicacies. *Audit*

* 'Omnis humani incommodi expers (says Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. cap. 13. in externis, sect. 3.) in summo perfectissimæ splendore doctrinæ extinctus est ;' i. e. After having lived free from every human ailment. he died in the highest reputation of being perfect master of his science.

† Hor. lib. iii. ode 3. v. 25.

‡ Cic. de finib. lib. i. c. 18.

§ Hor. lib. iii. ode 1. v. 18, &c.

Audit iter numeratque dies spatiumque viarum

Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura *. i. e.

He time and space computes by length of ways,
Sums up the number of his few dark Days;
And his sad thoughts full of his fatal Doom,
Have room for nothing but the blow to come.

The end of our race is death, it is the necessary object of our view, which if it frights us, how is it possible we should advance a step, without a fit of an ague? The remedy which the vulgar use is not to think on't: But from what brutish stupidity can they be so grossly blind? They must bridle the ass by the tail.

Qui capite ipse suo instituit vestigia retro †.

He who the order of his steps has laid,
To light, and nat'ral motion retrograde.

It is no wonder if he be often taken in the snare. Our people are frightened at the bare mention of death, and many cross themselves at it, as it were the name of the devil. And because there is mention made of death in last-wills and testaments, you are not to expect they will set their hands to them till the physician has utterly given them over; and then, betwixt grief and terror, what excellent judgment they have to carve for you, God only knows! The Romans, observing that this monosyllable, death, was very shocking to the people's ears, and that they thought it an ominous sound, found out a way to soften it, and to express it periphrastically, and instead of saying, in plain terms, 'such a one is dead,' to say, 'such a one has lived,' or 'has ceased to live: For if the word life was but mentioned, tho' past, yet it was some comfort. From hence we have borrowed our phrase, 'The late Mr. John,' &c.' Peradventure, as the saying is, 'If the term is worth my money ‡.' I was born betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock at noon, on the last day of February, 1533, as we now compute, beginning the year with January, and it is now just a fortnight since I was compleat thirty-nine years of age. It is
not

* Claud. lib. ii. v. 137, 138.

† Lucret lib. iv. v. 474.

‡ This proverb is mostly used by such, as having borrowed money for a long term, take no care for the payment, flattering themselves that something will happen, in the mean time, for their benefit or discharge.

not certain, at least, but I may live as many more; yet not to think of a thing so remote, would be folly. For why? The young and old quit life upon the same terms, and no one departs out of it, otherwise than if he had but just before entered into it; moreover, there is no man so very old, who thinks of Methusalem, but imagines he has still a constitution for twenty years longer. But, thou fool! who has insured, or rather assured, unto thee the term of thy life? Thou believest what the physicians say; but rather consult fact and experience. According to the common course of things, it is an extraordinary favour thou hast lived so long. Thou hast already exceeded the ordinary term of life; and that thou mayest be convinced of this, do but call to mind thy acquaintance, and reckon up how many more have died before they arrived at thy age, than ever attained to it. Do but make a register of such, even whose lives have been distinguished with fame, and I will lay a wager, that more have died under thirty-five years of age than above it. It is highly rational, and pious too, to take example by the human existence of Jesus Christ himself, who ended his life at thirty-three years of age. The greatest man too that ever was, of mere men, viz. Alexander, died also at the same age. How many ways has death to surprize us?

Quid quisque videt, nunquam homini satis

*Cautum est in horas * . i. e.*

What men should shun is never known,

We, unprovided are undone.

Or,

Man fain would shun, but 'tis not in his power

To evade the dangers of each threat'ning hour.

To omit fevers and pleurifies, who would ever have imagined, that a duke of Britany should be pressed to death in a crowd, as one was in 1305, in the reign of Philip the fair, at pope Clement's entry into Lyons? Have we not seen one of our kings † killed at his diversion, and one of his ancestors die by being pushed down by a Hog ‡?

Æschylus

* Horace, lib. ii. ode 13. v. 13, 14.

† Henry II. (of France) mortally wounded in a tournament by the count de Montgomery, one of the captains of his guards.

‡ Philip, (or, as some say) Lewis VII. son of Lewis le Gros, who was crowned in the life-time of his father.

Æschylus being threatned by a fall of a house, ran out of it into the fields, where he was knock'd on the head by a shell-fish which an eagle dropped from its talons*. Another, viz. Anacreon, was choaked with a grape-stone †; an emperor died by the scratch of a comb, in combing his head ‡. Æmilius Lepidus lost his life by a stumble at his own threshold; and Aufidius lost his life by a juggle against the door as he entered the council-chamber §. Cornelius Gallus, the prætor; Tigillinus, captain of the watch at Rome; Ludovico, son of Guido de Gonzagua, marquis of Mantua, died betwixt the very thighs of a woman. And a worse instance of this was, ** Speusippus, a Platonick philosopher, and one of our popes. The poor judge Bebius, during the reprieve of eight days which he gave to a criminal, was himself seized, and lost his life. †† Whilst Caius Julius, the physician, was anointing the eye of his patient, death closed his own ‡‡. And to come nearer home, a brother of mine, captain St. Martin, who had already given sufficient proofs of his valour, tho' but three and twenty years of age, playing at tennis, received a blow from the ball, just above his right ear, which made no scar nor contusion, so that he did not so much as sit down, or rest himself upon it, yet in five or six hours after, he died of an apoplexy, occasioned by that stroke. These examples being, as we see, so frequent and common, how is it possible that a man can disengage himself from the thoughts of death, or avoid fancying, that it is ready every moment to take us by the collar? What does it signify, you will say, which way it comes to pass, provided a man does not torment himself with the apprehension of it? I am of this opinion, that if a man could by any means screen himself from it he would, tho'

* Valerius Maximus, lib. ix. c. 12. in externis, c. 2.

† Plin. nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 53. ‡ Ibid. sect. 8. § Ibid.

** Tertullian affirms this, but without much foundation. Audin says he, in his apologetic, c. 46. that Speusippus, one of Plato's disciples, died while he was committing adultery. As to the death of Speusippus, Diogenes Laertius says, That, being shattered with a violent palsy, and broke down with the weight of old-age and vexation, he at last put an end to his own life.

†† Pliny's nat. hist. lib. vii. c. 53.

‡‡ Ibid.

tho' it were by a calf's skin. I am not the man that would flinch, for all I desire is to be composed, and the best recreation that I can give myself, I take hold of, be it as inglorious and unfashionable as you please.

——— *prætulerim delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectant mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere, et ringi* * . i. e.

I would be rather thought a doating wight,
If my own errors my own self delight,
Than know they're such, and owe myself a spight. }

Or,

A fool, or sluggard, let me centur'd be,
Whilst my own faults delight or cozen me ;
Rather than know them such, and feel the shame,
That my performances have hurt my fame.

But it is a folly to think of carrying the point by that means people go and come ; they gad abroad, and dance, and not a word of death. All this is fine ; but when it comes, either to themselves, wives, children, and friends, surprizing them unawares in disorder, and exposed, what torments do they feel, what outcries do they make, what madness and despair possess them ! Did ever you see any people so dejected, so changed, and so confounded ? There is an absolute necessity therefore of making more early preparation for it. And we should pay too dear for such a beastly neglect of it, could any man be supposed so void of sense as to be guilty of it, which I think utterly impossible. Were it an enemy that a man could escape from, I would advise him to borrow the armour even of cowardice itself for that purpose ; but, seeing that it is not to be avoided, and that it catches the runaway and the poltroon, as well as the gallant man,

*Mors et fugacem persequitur virum,
Nec parcat imbelis juvenatæ
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo* † . i. e.

No speed of foot prevents death of his prize,
He cuts the hamstrings of the man that flies ;
Nor spares the fearful stripling's back, who starts
To run beyond the reach of all its darts.

For-

* Hor. lib. ii. ep. 2. v. 126.

† Hor. lib. iii. ode 2. v. 14, &c.

Forasmuch also as there is no armour proof enough to secure us,

Ille licet ferro, cautus se condat, & ære

Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput *. i. e.

Tho' arm'd with steel, or brass, against his fate,

Death will his soul and body separate.

let us learn bravely to stand our ground against its attack: And that we may, in the first place, deprive it of the greatest advantage it has over us, let us take a course quite contrary to the common way. Let us disarm it of its strangeness; let us converse and be familiar with it, and have nothing so frequent in our thoughts as death; let us, at every turn, represent it to our imagination, and view it in all aspects. At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a tile upon our heads, or the least prick of a pin, let us make this reflection at the very instant, 'Well, and what if it had been death itself?' And thereupon let us harden and fortify ourselves. Amidst all our feasting and jollity, let us evermore curb ourselves with the remembrance of our condition, and not suffer ourselves to be so far transported with pleasure, as to forget how many ways this merriment of ours exposes us to death, and with how many dangers it threatens us. This was the practice of the Egyptians, who, in the height of their feasting and carousals, caused the dried skeleton of a man to be brought into the room, to serve for a memento to their guests †.

Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum,

Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora. † i. e.

Think ev'ry rising sun will be thy last;

And then the next day's light thine eyes shall see,

As unexpected, will more welcome be.

Where death waits for us, is uncertain; therefore let us look for it every where. The premeditation of death is the premeditation of liberty. He who has learnt to die, has forgot what it is to be a slave. There is no such thing as evil in life to him, who rightly comprehends, that the being deprived of life is not an evil. The knowing how to die, frees us from all subjection and constraint.

When

* Propert. lib. iii. eleg. 13. v. 25, 26.
p. 133. † Hor. lib. i. epist. 4. v. 13, 14.

† Herodotus, lib. 2.

When the unhappy king of Macedon, who was Paulus Æmilius's prisoner, sent to intreat him that he would not lead him in triumph, the latter made answer, ' That truly ' is in your own power *. In truth, if nature does not lend a little assistance in all things, it will be difficult for art and industry to make any progress. I am myself not melancholy, but thoughtful, and there is nothing which I have more frequently entertained myself with, than the ideas of death, even in the most licentious season of my life, in the pleasant spring of florid age.

Jucundum cum ætas florida virum agere †.

In the company of ladies, and in the height of play, some have, perhaps, thought me brooding upon jealousy, or on the uncertainty of some hope, while I was entertaining myself with the remembrance of some person who was lately surprized with a fever which carried him off, after an entertainment like this, when his head was full of idle fancies, love and jollity, as mine was then, and that therefore I had the more to answer for.

Jam fuerit, nec post unquam revocare licebit ‡. i. e.

Ere while he had a being amongst men,

Now gone, and ne'er to be recall'd again.

Yet that thought did not add a wrinkle to my forehead more than any other. It is impossible but such imaginations must, at their first conception, sting us, but by often revolving them in our minds, and making them familiar to us, they are sure at the long-run to lose their sting: Otherwise, for my part, I should have been in a perpetual fright and frenzy; for never was a man so distrustful of his life, never man so indifferent about its duration. Neither the health which I have hitherto enjoyed with great vigour, and with little interruption, prolongs, nor does sickness contract my hopes of life. Methinks, I have an escape every minute, and it eternally runs in my mind, ' Whatever may fall out another day, may as well happen ' to-day.' Hazards and dangers do, in truth, little or nothing hasten our end; and if we consider how many more remain and hang over our heads, besides the accident that seems to threaten us immediately, we shall find that

* Plutarch in the life of Æmilius, ch. 17. of Amyot's translation.
Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. v. c. 40.

† Catullus, ep. 66. v. 16.

‡ Lucret. lib. iii. v. 928.

that the sound and the sick, those who are at sea, and those who are at land, those who are abroad in the wars, and those who enjoy tranquillity at home, are the one as near death as the other. 'No man is more frail than the other, nor more certain of the morrow *.' For any thing I have to do before I die, I should think the longest leisure short to finish it, if it took but an hour's time. A certain person, the other day, looking into my table-book, wonder'd to find a memorandum in it of something that I would have done after my death; upon which I told him the real truth, that tho' I was no more than a league from my house, and at that time in good health and spirits, yet when that thing came into my head, I made haste to write it down there, because I was not certain to live to get home. As I am a man that am continually brooding over my own thoughts, and keep them close to myself, I am prepared, at all hours, for what may happen to me, and the approach of death will be no novelty to me. We should always, as far as possible, be booted, and ready to depart; and to be careful above all things, to have no business to do then but our own.

*Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo
Multa †? i. e.*

Why cut'st thou out such mighty work, vain man,
Whose life's short date's compriz'd in one short span?

For we shall find work enough to do there without any addition. One man complains the more of death, because it stops his career to a glorious victory; another, that he must be snatched away before he has married his daughter, or made a settlement on his young children; a third laments, that he must part from his dear wife; a fourth, that he must leave his son, as if these were the chief comforts of life. For my part, I am at this instant, thanks be to God, in such a state, that I am ready to quit my being, whenever it shall please him, without any manner of regret. I am quite disengaged from the world; my leave is soon taken of all but myself. Never was any man prepared to bid adieu to the world, absolutely and purely, nor did any one ever quit his hold
of

* Seneca, ep. 9.

† Horace, ode 16. lib. ii. v. 17, 18.

of it more universally than I hope to do. The deadeſt deaths are the beſt *.

—*miſer, O miſer (aiunt) omnia ademit
Una dies infeſta mihi tot præmia vitæ*†. i. e.
Wretch that I am (they cry) one fatal day
So many joys of life has ſnatch'd away.

And the builder,

—*manent (ait ille) opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes, æquataque machina Cælo*‡.
Stupendous piles (ſays he) unfiniſh'd lie,
And tow'rs, whoſe pinacles do touch the ſky.

A man muſt form no deſign that will take ſo much time to finiſh it, or that at leaſt he will be ſo paſſionately deſirous of ſeeing brought to a concluſion. We are born for action

Cum morior, medium ſolvar et inter opus §. i. e.
When death ſhall come, it me will find
Employ'd in ſomething I deſign'd.

I would always have a man to be doing, and ſpinning out the offices of life as far as poſſible; and that, tho' death ſhould ſeize me planting my cabbages, I ſhould not be concerned at it, and much leſs for leaving my garden unfiniſhed. I know one who, on his death-bed, complain'd inceſſantly of his deſtiny for cutting off the thread of a chronicle he was then compiling, when he was advanced no farther than the fifteenth or ſixteenth of our kings,

*Illud in his rebus non addunt, nec tibi earum
Jam deſiderium rerum, ſuperinſidet una* ||. i. e.

They tell us not, that dying we've no more
The ſame deſire of things as heretofore.

We are to divest ourſelves of theſe vulgar and noxious humours. To this very purpoſe it was, ſaid Lycurgus, that men appointed their burial-places near to the churches, to accuſtom the common people, women and children,

* Death is here conſidered as the introduction, and actual paſſage to a ſtate of inſenſibility, which puts a period to our life. The more ſilently and rapidly we arrive to that ſtate, the leſs ought the paſſage to terrify us. This comes up very near to the import of that bold and ænigmatical expreſſion of Montaigne, viz. 'That the deadeſt deaths are the beſt.'

† Lucret. lib. iii. v. 911, 912. ‡ Vir. Æneid. lib. iv. v. 88, 89.
§ Ovid. Amor. lib. ii. eleg. 10. v. 36. || Lucret. lib. iii. v. 913, 914.

dren, so much to the view of the dead bodies, that they might not be startled, and to the end that the continual sight of bones, graves, and funerals, might put us in mind of our mortality.

*Quin etiam exbilarare viris convivio cæde
Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira ;
Certatum ferro, sæpe et super ipsa cadentum
Pocula, resperfis non parco sanguine mensis * . i. e.*

'Twas therefore that the ancients, at their feasts,
With tragick slaughter us'd to treat their guests ;
Making their fencers with their utmost spite,
Skill, force, and fury in their presence fight :
'Till streams of blood did run about the hall,
Staining their tables, drinking-cups, and all.

And as the Egyptians, after their feasts, presented their company with a great image of death, which was brought in by one that cried out to them, ' Drink, and be merry, ' for such wilt thou be when thou art dead ;' so have I made it a practice, not only to have death in my imagination, but continually in my mouth ; and there is nothing of which I am so inquisitive as the manner of men's death, their dying words, looks, and deportment ; nor is there any passage in history that takes up so much of my attention ; and it is manifest, by many instances of this kind, which I have mentioned, that I have a particular fancy for this subject. If I was a writer of books, I would compile a register of the various deaths of people, with notes, which would be of use for instructing men both to live and die. Dicearchus made one to which he gave that title, but it had another view, that was not so profitable †.

It will, perhaps, be objected by some, that the circumstances of dying, so far exceed all manner of conception, that the best fencer will be quite out of his guard when it comes to that push. But, let them say what they will, premeditation is no doubt of great benefit ; and, besides, is it nothing to proceed so far at least without any disturbance and tremor ? But, moreover, nature itself does assist and encourage us. If the death be sudden and violent, we have no time for fear, I per-

E

ceive

* Sil. Ital. lib. xi. v. 51, &c.

† Cic. offic. lib. ii. cap. 5.

ceive that the longer the distemper holds me, I enter naturally into a certain disgust of life. I find it much more difficult to digest this resolution of dying when I am in health, than when I am sick of a fever. The less I am attached to the comforts of life, by my beginning to lose the use and pleasure of them, the aspect of death becomes the less terrible to me; which gives me hope, that the farther I remove from the former, and the nearer I approach to the latter, the more easily I shall compound for the exchange. And as I have experienced in many other occurrences, that, as Cæsar says, things often appear to us greater at a distance than near at hand, I have found, that when I was in health, I have held diseases in much greater horror than when I have felt them. The alacrity, pleasure, and vigour I now enjoy, represent the contrary estate to me in so great a disproportion to my present condition, that, in my imagination, I swell these inconveniencies to twice their magnitude, and think them to be more weighty than I find them to be in reality when I labour under them; and I hope to find the case to be the same with respect to death. Let us but observe, in the ordinary changes and declensions which we suffer, how nature steals from us the sight of our bodily decay. What remains to an old man of the vigour of his youth and maturer age?

*Heu senibus vitæ portio quanta manet * ?*

Alas! how small a part of life's short stage,

Remains for travellers advanc'd in age!

A veteran soldier of Cæsar's guards, who was quite jaded and bowed down with age, coming to ask him leave that he might dispatch himself; Cæsar, observing his decrepidness, and his long beard that hung down to his breast, answered pleasantly, 'thou fanciest then that thou art still alive †? should a man fall into old-age on a sudden, I do not think he would be capable of enduring such a change; but, being led by the hand of nature, as it were, by a gradual and insensible descent, it rolls us gently into that miserable state, and familiarizes it to us, so that when youth dies in us, we feel no shock, tho' it is in fact a harder death than the total dissolution of a languishing

* Eleg. i. Maximiniani, c. 16.

† Senec. epist. 77.

guishing life, and than the death of old age; forasmuch as the leap from an uneasy existence to a non existence is not so disagreeable, as it were from a sprightly, florid state of existence, to one that is full of pain and anguish. The body, when bowed and bent, has less strength to sustain a burden, and the case is the same with the soul; and therefore it is absolutely necessary she should be raised up firm and erect against the power of this adversary. For as it is impossible she should be in tranquillity while in fear, so if, on the other hand, she be composed, she may boast (which is a thing, as it were, above the state of mortals) that no uneasiness, torment, and terror, nor the least disgust has any place in her.

Non vultus instantis tyranni

Mente quatit solida: neque Auster

Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,

Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus *. i. e.

A soul well settled is not to be shook

With an incensed tyrant's threat'ning look;

Nor can the prince of stormy Adria,

The ruffling Auster, once that heart dismay;

Nor yet th' uplifted hand of mighty Jove,

Tho' charg'd with thunder, such a temper move.

She is then become the mistress of her lusts and passions, the mistress of distress, shame, poverty, and all the other injuries of fortune; let us therefore, as many of us as can, gain this advantage, which is the true and sovereign liberty that enables us to defy violence and injustice, and to despise prisons and chains.

— in manicis et

Compedibus, servo te sub custode tenbo.

Ipse Deus, simul atque volam, me solvet, opinor;

Hoc sentit, moriar: mors ultima linea rerum est †.

With bolts and chains I'll load thy hands and feet,

And to a surly keeper thee commit;

Why, let him show his worst of cruelty,

God will, I think, for asking, set me free:

Aye; but, he thinks, I'll die; that comfort brings,

For death's the utmost line of human things.

E 2

Our

* Hor. lib. iii. ode 3

† Ibid. lib. i. ep. 16 v. 76, &c.

Our religion itself has no surer human foundation than the contempt of life. Not only reason prompts us to it; for why should we fear to lose a thing, which, being lost, cannot be regretted? and since, moreover, we are threatened with death of so many various kinds, is it not worse to fear them all, than to suffer one of them? and what matters it when it happens, since it is unavoidable? Socrates being told, 'that the thirty tyrants had condemned him to die *'; and so has nature them', said he. What a folly is it for us to afflict ourselves about a passage that exempts us from all trouble? as our birth brought us the birth of all things, so when we die all things to us will be dead. Therefore to lament that we shall not be alive a hundred years hence, is as absurd, as to be sorry that we were not in the land of the living a hundred years ago. Death is the beginning of another life. So did we weep, and so much it cost us to enter into this, and so did we put off our former veil, when we entered into the present state. Nothing can be a grievance that is but for once; and is it reasonable to be so long in fear of a thing that is of so short a duration? a long life, and a short life, are by death made all one; for there is no long nor short to things that are no more. Aristotle relates †, that there are certain little beasts on the banks of the river Hypanis which live but one day, and that those of them which die at eight o'clock in the morning, die in their prime, and those that die at sun-set, are in the age of decrepitude. Who of us would not be indifferent whether happiness or misery were the lot of a momentary existence? our's, be it more or less, if compared to eternity, or even to the duration of mountains, rivers, stars, trees, and even of some animals, is no less ridiculous.

Nay, nature itself forces us to our dissolution; 'go out of this world, says she, as you came into it. By the same passage that you came from death to life, without passion or fear, go back from life to death. Your death is a part of the constitution of the universe, it is a part of the life of the world.

— *Inter*

* Socrates was not condemned to death by the thirty tyrants, but by the Athenians. Diogenes Laertius, lib. ii. segm. 33.

† Cicero. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i. c. 39.

— *Inter se mortales mutua vivunt,*

Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt *. i. e.

Mortals among themselves by turns do live,

And life's bright torch to the next runner give †.

- Shall I alter this excellent system of things for you ? it
- is the condition of your creation, death is a part of you ;
- and whilst you endeavour to escape it, you fly from
- yourselves. This very being of your's that you now
- enjoy is equally shared betwixt life and death. The
- day of your birth is one day's advance to death as well
- as life.

Prima, quæ vitam dedit, hora carpsit ‡.

Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet §.

The hour that first gave life its breath,

Was a whole hour's advance to death.

As we are born we die ; and our life's end

Upon our life's beginning does depend.

- Every day you live you steal from life, and live at the
- expence of life itself. The perpetual work of your
- life is to build up death. You are in death while you
- live, because, when your life is ended, you succeed to
- death : or, if you had rather have it so, you are dead
- after life, but dying all the time you live, and death
- handles the dying much more roughly, sharply, and
- more feelingly than the dead. If you have made your
- advantage of life, you have had enough of it, go away
- satisfied.

Cur non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis § ?

Why dost thou not retire, like to a guest, ?

Sated with life, as he is with a feast ?

- If you have not known how to make the best use of it,
- and if it was unprofitable to you, why should you be
- loth to part with it ? to what end would you desire
- longer to keep it ?

* Lucret. lib. ii. v. 75, 78.

† This is an allusion to the Athenian games, wherein those that ran a race carried torches in their hands ; which, when the race was over, they delivered into the hands of those that were to run next.

‡ Senec. Herc. chor. 3. v. 43.

§ Manil. lib. iv. v. 16.

§ Lucret. lib. iii. v. 931.

—*cur amplius addere quæris*

Rursum quod pereat male, et ingratum occidat omne *.

And why, fond mortal, dost thou ask for more ?

Why still desire t' increase thy wretched Store,

And wish for what must waste like those before ?

- * Life, in itself, is neither a good nor an evil; but it is
 * the scene of good or evil, as you make it; and if you
 * have liv'd a day you have seen all; one day is like all
 * others. There is no other light, no other sight; this
 * very sun, this moon, these very stars, the present sys-
 * tem of things is the very same that your ancestors
 * enjoyed, and the same that will entertain your latest
 * posterity.

Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes

Aspicient †.

Your grandfathers saw no other things of old,

Nor shall your grandsons other things behold.

- * And come the worst that can come, the distribution
 * and variety of all the acts of my comedy are performed
 * in a year. If you have attended to the succession of my
 * four seasons, they comprehend the infancy, youth, vi-
 * rility, and old-age of the world. The year has play'd
 * its part, and has no new scene, or shift, but to begin
 * again, and it will always be the same thing over and
 * over again.

Verſamur ibidem, atque inſumus uſque ‡. i. e.

We yearly tread but one perpetual round,

We ne'er strike out, but beat the former ground.

Atque in ſe ſua per veſtigia volvitur annus ||. i. e.

And the year rolls within itself again.

- * I am not determin'd, (continues nature,) to contribute
 * any new recreations for you.

Nam tibi præterea quod machiner, inveniamque

Quod placet nihil eſt; eadem ſunt omnia ſemper §. i. e.

More pleasures than are made I cannot frame,

For to all times all things will be the same.

- * Make room for others, as others have done for you.

Equality

* Sueret. lib. iii. v. 954, 955.

† Manilius, lib. i. v. 521,

322.

‡ Lucret. lib. iii. v. 1093.

|| Virg. Geo. lib. iii.

v. 402.

§ Lucret. lib. iii. v. 957, 958.

- * Equality is the soul of equity *. Who can complain of being under the same destiny with all his fellow-creatures? Besides, live as long as you can, you will thereby not at all shorten the space of time that you are to lye dead in the grave; it is all to no purpose: you will be every whit as long in that situation which you so much dread, as if you had died at the breast.

*Licet quot vis vivendo vincere secla,
Mors æterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit* †. i. e.

For though thy life should numerous ages fill,
The state of death will be eternal still.

- * and yet I will place you in such a condition as you shall not be dissatisfied with;

*In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te
Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum.*

Stansque jacentem †. i. e.

When dead, a living self thou canst not have;
Or to lament or trample on thy grave.

- * Nor shall you so much as wish for the life you are so much concerned for.

Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque requirit,

Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit ullum ‖. i. e.

Life, nor ourselves we wish in that estate,
Nor once about ourselves deliberate.

- * Death is less to be feared than nothing, if there was any thing less than nothing.

— multo mortem minus ad nos esse putandum,

Si minus esse potest quam quod nihil esse videmus §. i. e.

If less than nothing all the world can show,

Death would appear to us, and would be so.

- * Neither can it any way concern you, whether living or dead: not living, because you still exist; nor dead, because you are no more. Moreover, no one dies before his hour; and the time you leave behind was no more your's, than that which was past and gone before you was born; nor does it any more concern you.

*Respice enim quam nil ad nos antea cæta vetustas
Temporis æt. rni fuerit* **. i. e.

* Senec. ep. 30. † Lucret. lib. iii. v. 1103, 1104. ‡ Ib. v. 898.

‖ Lucret. lib. iii. v. 93, 935. § Id. ibid. ** Id. v. 985, 986

Look back, and tho' times past eternal were,
In those before us, yet we had no share.

' Let your life end where, or when it will, it is all included in eternity. The benefit of life consists not in the space, but the use of it. Such a one may have lived a long time, who yet may be said to have enjoyed but a short life. Give attention to time while it is present with you. It depends upon your will, and not upon the number of years, that you have lived long enough. Do you think never to arrive at the place towards which you are continually going? And yet there is no road but hath its end. And if company will make it more pleasant, does not all the world go the self same way as you do?

— *omnia te vita perfuncta sequentur* *. i. e.

All the world in death must follow thee.

' Does not all the world dance the same brawl that you do? is there any thing that does not grow old as well as you? a thousand men, a thousand animals, and a thousand other creatures die at the same instant that you expire.

Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora secuta est,

Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris

Pioratus, mortis comites, et funeris atri †.

No night succeeds the day, nor morning's light
Succeeds to drive away the shades of night,
Wherein there are not heard the dismal groans
Of dying men, mix'd with the woful moans
Of living friends, as also with the cries,
And dirges fitting funeral obsequies.

' To what end do you endeavour to avoid death, unless it was possible for you to evade it? you have seen instances enough of those to whom it has been welcome, as it has put an end to their great misery. Have you talked with any to whom it has therefore been unwelcome? It is very foolish to condemn a thing which you have not experienced, neither yourself, nor in the person of any other. Why (says nature) dost thou complain of me and destiny? do we wrong thee? is it for thee to govern us, or for us to dispose of thee?

Tho'

* Lucret. lib. iii. v. 981.

† Ibid. lib. ii. v. 579, 580.

‘tho’ thy age may not be accomplished, yet thy life is.
‘A little man is as entirely a man as a giant; neither
‘men nor their lives are measured by the ell. Chiron
‘refused to be immortal, when he was acquainted with
‘the terms upon which he was to enjoy it, by his father
‘Saturn, the very god of time, and its duration. Do
‘but seriously consider, how much more intolerable and
‘painful a life would be, which was to last for ever,
‘than that which I have given thee. If death was not
‘to be your lot, you would eternally curse me for having
‘deprived you of it. I have, it is true, mixt a little bit-
‘terness with it, to the end, that when you have per-
‘ceived the conveniency of it, you might not embrace it
‘too greedily and indiscreetly: and that you might be
‘established in this moderation which I require of you,
‘neither to fly from life nor death, I have tempered both
‘with bitter and sweet. I taught Thales, the chief of
‘all your sages, that either life or death was indifferent;
‘so that, when one asked him, Why then did he not
‘die? he answered very wisely, because it was a matter
‘of indifference.’ Water, earth, air, and fire, and the
‘other members of this my structure, are no more the
‘instruments of thy life than of thy death *. Why art
‘thou afraid of thy last day, which conduces no more
‘to thy dissolution, than any before it. The last step
‘is not the cause of lassitude, but only the discovery of
‘it. Every day travels towards death, thy last only ar-
‘rives at it.’ Thus far the good lessons of our mother
nature.

I have often considered with myself whence it should
proceed, that, in the field of battle, the image of death,
whether we view it in our own danger of it, or in that of
others, is not near so deadful as in our own houses, (which
if it were not fact, they would be a pack of whining milk-
sops) and that death having always the same aspect, yet
it meets with more courage in peasants, and men of low
rank, than in others. I really believe, that the dismal
air and apparatus, with which we set it out, more terrifies
us than the thing itself. A new manner of life quite
contrary to the former; the cries of mothers, wives and
children; the visits of astonished, afflicted friends, the

E 5

attendance

* Seneca, epist. 120.

attendance of pale and blubbering servants, a dark room with burning wax tapers in it, our beds surrounded with physicians and parsons; in short, nothing but ghastliness and horror about us, make men fancy themselves already dead and buried *. 'Children are afraid of their very friends when they see them masqued, and so are we ourselves. The vizer must be taken off as well from things as persons.' And when that is taken off, we shall find nothing underneath but the very same death which a footman or a chamber-maid suffered the other day without any fear. Happy therefore is that death which does not give time to make such a pompous apparatus.

C H A P. XX. *Of the power of imagination.*

'**F**ORTIS imaginatio generat casum;' a strong imagination begets accidents, says the schoolman. I am one of those who are sensible of the very great power of imagination. Every one is jostled, and some are overthrown by it. Its impression pierces me, and for want of strength to resist it, I have no recourse to art to escape it. The company of those that are healthy and chearful is all that I wish for. The very sight of another person's anguish gives me sensible uneasiness, and I often sympathize with a third person. A perpetual cough in another tickles my lungs and throat. I more unwillingly visit the sick, to whom I am in duty bound, than those for whom I have less concern and regard. I take possession of the disease, which ingrosses my attention, and lay it to heart, and do not at all wonder that fancy should give fevers, and sometimes death, to those who give it scope and applause. Simon Thomas was a great physician of his time: I remember, that meeting me one day at Thoulouse, at the house of a rich old man who was troubled with bad lungs, and consulting him about the remedies for his cure, he told his patient, that one thing would conduce to it, namely, to give me some cause to be fond of his company; and that by fixing his eyes on the freshness of my complexion, and his imagination upon the abundant sprightliness and
vigour

* Seneca, epist. 24.

vigour of my youth, and possessing all his senses with that florid state of body which I then enjoyed, his constitution might be the better for it; but he forgot to say that I might happen to be the worse for it. Gallus Vibius so long cudgelled his brains * to find out the essence and motions of madness, that it distracted him to such a degree, that he could never after recover his judgment, and he might boast, that wisdom had made him a meer fool. Some there are who, through fear, save the hangman a labour; and there was a man, whose eyes being unbound to have his pardon read to him, was found stone dead upon the scaffold, through the meer force of his imagination. We start, tremble, turn pale, and blush by the shocks of our imagination; and when covered over head and ears in bed, feel our bodies agitated with its power to such a degree, that some have thereby expired. And so warm is the imagination of youth, even when fast asleep, as to satisfy their amorous desires in a dream; which Lucretius expresses a little too nakedly in the following distich, viz.

*Ut quasi transactis sæpe omnibus rebus, profundant
Fluminis ingentes fluctus vestemque cruentent †. i. e.*
Who love enjoys in sleep, his inflam'd mind
Lays his love's tribute where 'twas not design'd.

And altho' it be no new thing to see horns grafted in the morning, on the head of a person that had none when he went to bed, yet memorable is what befel Cyppus, a noble Roman, who having one day been with great delight a spectator of a bull fight, and having all night long dreamt that he had horns on his head, his forehead produced them.

* Seneca, the Rhetorician, from whom Montaigne must have taken this story, does not say that Gallus Vibius lost his reason by endeavouring to comprehend the essence of madness, but by too studious an application to imitate its motions. As this Gallus was a rhetorician by profession, he imagined that the transports of madness, represented lively in dialogue, would charm his audience, and took so much pains to play the madman in jest, that he became so earnest. He is the only man I ever knew, says Seneca, that became mad, not by accident, but by an act of judgment. *Controvers. 9. lib. 2.*

† Lucret. lib. ix. v. 1029, 1030.

them in reality next morning by the force of imagination *. It was downright passion that made Cræsus's son speak who was born dumb †. And Antiochus caught a fever by his soul's being too deeply impressed with the beauty of Stratonice. Pliny says, in his natural history, lib. 7. c. 4. that he saw Lucius Cossicius, who from a woman was turned into a man upon her very wedding day. Pontanus and others relate the like metamorphoses that have happened in these latter ages in Italy. And through the vehement desire of him and his mother,

Vota puer solvit, quæ sæmina voverat Iphis ‡. i. e.

Iphis, a boy, the vow defray'd

That he had promis'd when a maid.

I myself, as I passed through Vitry le François, a town in Champagne, saw a man, whom the bishop of Soissons confirmed by the name of German, whom all the inhabitants of the place had known and seen to be a girl by the name of Mary, to the age of twenty two. When I saw him he had a very bushy beard, was old, and not married. He told us, that by straining himself in a leap, his virile member came out; and the young women of the place have a song to this day, wherein they caution one another not to take too large strides, for fear of being turned into men as Mary German was. It is no such wonder if this should often happen; for if imagination has any power in such things, it is so continually, and so vigorously attached to this subject, that, to the end it may not so often relapse into the same thought and eagerness of desire, it were better to § incorporate this virile part into the girls once for all.

Some

* Pliny puts this story in the same class as that of Adæon, and supposes both to be fabulous, nat. hist. lib. xi. c. 45. Valerius Maximus gives this Cypsus the title of Prætor, and says, that as he departed from Rome, in the habit of a general, and the accident which Montaigne speaks of here happening to him, the diviners declared, that Cypsus would be a king if he returned to Rome; whereupon he voluntarily condemned himself to perpetual exile, in order to prevent it. Valer. Max. lib. v. c. 6.

† Herodot. lib. i. p. 39. ‡ Ovid. Metam. lib. ix. fab. 12. v. 129.

§ A false and extravagant thought this. I am not at all surprized that Montaigne came to be possessed with it, for who does not dream sometimes when he is awake? but what I wonder at is, how he could determine to make use of it.

Some attribute the scars of king Dagobert and St. Francis to the force of imagination. It is said, that bodies are sometimes removed by it out of their places. And Celsus tells us of a priest, whose soul was in such an extatick rapture, that the body remained for a long time without sense and respiration. St. Austin mentions another, who, if he did but hear any lamentable or doleful cries, would fall suddenly into a swoon, and so profound a lethargy, that it was to no purpose to bawl in his ears, shake, pinch, or scorch him, till he came to himself; then he said, he had heard voices, as it were afar off, and felt when they scorched and pinched him: And that this was not a dissembled obstinacy in defiance of his sense of feeling, was plain, because he had all the while neither pulse nor breathing.

It is very probable, that the credit of visions, enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, is principally derived from the power of imagination, which makes the greatest impression upon the more credulous minds of the vulgar, who are very apt to believe they see what they do not see.

I am also in some doubt whether those pleasant ligatures with which this age of ours is so hampered, that scarce any thing else is talk'd of, are not the voluntary impressions of apprehension and fear. For I know by experience, that a certain man, whom I can answer for as well as for myself, and one who can by no means be suspected of impotency, and as little of being under a spell, who having heard a companion of his tell a story of an extraordinary disability that seized him at a very unseasonable time, being afterwards in the like engagement, the horror of the relation so roughly shocked his imagination all on a sudden, that he met with the same fate as the other had done; and for that time forward was subject to relapse into it, the scurvy remembrance of his disaster curbing and tyrannizing over him. He found some remedy however for this idle fancy by another, namely, by his own frank confession, and previous declaration of his infirmity to the party with whom he was to do, whereby the contention of his soul was in some sort appeased; because knowing that now nothing better was expected from him,

him, his obligation was the less, and he suffered the less by it, when he was free at his choice (his thought being disentangled and at liberty, and his body in its proper state) he caused the part to be handled, and communicated to the knowledge of another, and was perfectly cured. After a man has once given proof of his capacity, he is never after in danger of non-performance, unless upon the account of real weakness. Neither is this disaster to be feared, but in adventures where the soul is extended beyond measure with desire and respect, and especially where opportunities call out that are urgent and unforeseen. There is no way of recovery from this trouble; and yet I have known some who have found their account by coming, after being half sated elsewhere, purposely to cool the heat of their fury; and some who through age find themselves impotent by being less able. And I knew another who was made easy, by being assured that a friend of his had a counter-battery of certain charms to preserve him. The story is worth telling.

A count of a very great family, with whom I was very intimate, being married to a fair lady, who had been courted by one of the guests at her wedding; all his friends, especially an old lady, his kinswoman, who had the direction of the marriage-feast, and at whose house it was kept, were in great fear that there would be some sorcery in the case, and she communicated her apprehension to me. I desired her to rely upon my care. I had, by chance, in my possession a small plate of gold, whereon was engraved some of the celestial signs, which was good to prevent the brain-pan from being scorched by the heat of the sun, and to remove the head-ach, if it was applied exactly to the suture of the skull; and in order to keep it firm upon it, a ribbon was tacked to it, so as to be tied under the chin; a piece of quackery, con-
fingerman to what we are now speaking of. I had this singular present from James Pellatier, who liv'd with me, and having a mind to make an experiment with it, I told the count that he might possibly have the same trick put upon him, as had been played with some other bridegrooms, some persons being in the house who certainly intended to do him such an ill office; but I ad-
vised.

vifed him to go boldly to bed, when I would do him the office of a friend; and, if need required, would not spare to work a miracle that was in my power, provided he would assure me upon his honour to keep it an entire secret. All that he was to do was, in the night, when they came to bring him his cawdle, if matters had not gone well with him, to give me a sign. His ears had been so dinn'd, and his mind so preposseſſed, that he found his imagination really diſturbed, and therefore at time agreed on, he gave me the ſign. I then whiſpered him, that he ſhould get out of bed, under pretence of putting us out of the chamber, and that taking off my night gown, as it were in a frolick (we being much of a ſize) he ſhould put it on himſelf, and keep it on till he had done what I ordered him; which was, that when we were gone out of the room, he ſhould retire to make water, repeat certain words three times, and make certain motions; that at each time he ſhould tie the ribbon I put into his hands about his waift, and place the medal that was appendant to it (the figures in ſuch a poſition) very carefully upon his kidneys; which being done, and having, at the laſt of the three times, ſo well faſtened the ribbon, that it could neither unloose, nor ſlip from its place, he might ſecurely renew his attack, not forgetting to ſpread my night-gown on his bed in ſuch a manner that it might cover them both. In theſe monkey tricks the effect chiefly conſiſts, our fancy being ſeduced to think that ſuch ſtrange formalities muſt proceed from ſome occult ſcience. Their inſignificancy really gives them weight and reverence. Upon the whole, it was certain that my characters were more venereal than ſolar, and conſiſted more in action than prohibition. It was indeed a ſudden whimſey, mixed with a little curioſity, that prompted me to do a thing to which I have by nature an averſion; for I am an enemy to all ſubtle and ſham performances, and waſh my hands of all fineſſe, whether it be for pleaſure or profit; and if the action be not vicious, the manner of it is. Amafiſ, king of Egypt, married Laodicea, a very beautiful Greek virgin; and though he was a man of approved gallantry to all others, yet he could by no means enjoy her, ſo that he threatened to kill her, on a ſuſpicion
that

that she was a witch. As it is usual with fancy, it put him upon devotion, and having made his vows and promises* to Venus, he found strength divinely repaired the very first night after his oblations and sacrifices. Now, in plain truth, women are to blame for putting on those disdainful, coy, and angry countenances, which extinguishes the vigour of the men, as it kindles their desire. It was a saying of the daughter-in-law of Pythagoras †, That 'the woman who goes to bed with a man, must put off her modesty with her petticoat, and with the same put it on again ‡.' The assailant being disturbed in mind with a variety of alarms is easily dispirited; and whoever has been once thus mortified by the meer force of imagination, (a mortification which it never gives but at the first congress, because that is the most ardent and eager, and because also, at this first trial, a man is most timorous of miscarrying) whoever, I say, has made a bad beginning, he becomes angry and peevish at the accident, which will be apt to stick to him upon future occasions.

As for married men, whose time is all their own, they ought neither to be too hasty, nor so much as to attempt the feat, if they are not prepared. And it were better to fail in the decorum of handselling the nuptial sheets, when a man is full of agitation and trembling, and to wait another opportunity, at a more private and tranquil juncture, than to make himself perpetually miserable, by being confounded and enraged for being baffled at the first attack. Till possession be taken, a man, subject to this infirmity, should leisurely, and by degrees, make several slight trials and offers, without provoking himself, and striving against the grain, in order to be fully convinced in his own mind of his ability.

Such

* Herodot. lib. ii. p. 180. says, that it was not Amasis, but Ladicea, or Ladice, who faithfully performed a vow she had made to Venus, by erecting a statue to her, which, says he, was still standing in my time.

† Diog. Laert. in the life of Pythagoras, lib. viii. segm. 43.

‡ Montaigne here means Theano, the famous Pythagorean woman, who was the wife, and not the daughter-in-law of Pythagoras. See Diogenes Laertius in the life of Pythagoras, lib. viii. segm. 42. It is M. Menage who has taken notice of this small mistake of Montaigne. Diogenes Laertius, tom. 35. p. 500. col. 2.

Such as know their members to be naturally obedient to their desires, need only to be careful to counterplot their fancy.

The indocile liberty of this member is sufficiently remarkable, by its importunate demand when we have nothing for it to do, and by so imperiously disputing the authority with our will, and with so much pride and obstinacy denying all solicitations both manual and mental. And yet tho' its rebellion is so insolent as to give sufficient proof to condemn it, if I were see'd to plead its cause, I should peradventure bring its fellow-members into a suspicion of complotting this quarrel and mischief against it underhand, out of pure envy at the importance, and ravishing delight peculiar to its employment, and of arming mankind against it by malevolently charging it alone with their common offence. For I leave it to any one to consider, whether there is any one part of our bodies which does not often refuse to operate as he would have it, and often exercise its function in opposition to the will. They have every one of them proper passions of their own that awake or stupify them without our leave. How often do the involuntary motions of the countenance discover our secret thoughts, and betray us to by-standers? The same cause that animates this member, does also, without our perceiving it, animate the heart, lungs and pulse, the very sight of an agreeable object imperceptibly inflaming us with a feverish disorder. Is it those veins and muscles only that swell and flag without the approbation, not only of our will, but of our opinion? We do not command our hairs to stand on end, nor our flesh to tremble, with desire or fear. The hand often conveys itself to parts which we do not direct it. The tongue falters, and the voice is sometimes interrupted when we cannot help it. When we have nothing to eat, and would willingly forbid the appetite both of eating and drinking, it nevertheless provokes the parts that are susceptible of it, and abandons us in like manner, and as unseasonably, as the other appetite of which we have been speaking. The vessels that serve to discharge the belly have their proper dilatations and compressions without and beyond our direction, as well as those which are destined for evacuating the reins. And that which for justifying the prerogative
of

of our will is urged by St. Augustine, viz. That he had seen a man who * could command his backside to discharge as many f—ts as he pleased, and which Vives illustrated by another example in this time, of one that could let them off in tune, does not suppose that part to be any more obedient than the others; for is any thing commonly more noisy or indiscreet? To which also he adds, that I myself knew one so turbulent and refractory that way, that for forty years together made his master-vent with one continued explosion without intermission. And I could heartily wish, that I only knew by reading, how oft a man's belly, by the smothering of one single f——t has brought him to the very door of a tormenting death; and that the emperor † who gave liberty to f——t any where, had at the same time given us the power of doing it. But as to our will, for the sake of whose prerogatives we prefer this accusation, how much more greater probability might we not reproach it with rebellion and sedition, by its irregularity and disobedience? Does it always operate as we would have it? Does it not often will what we forbid it to will, and to our manifest damage? Does it suffer itself, more than any of the other faculties, to be directed by the results of our reason? To conclude, I should move, in the behalf of the gentleman, my client, that it might be considered, that tho' in this circumstance his cause is inseparably and indistinctly conjoined with an accomplice, yet he only is called in question, and that by arguments and accusations that cannot be charged upon his laid accomplice, who sometimes invites at a wrong season, and never refuses, and who allures tacitly and clandestinely. Therefore is the malice and injustice of his accusers manifestly apparent. But be that as it will, let the advocates and judges pass sentence

as

* Some, without any shame, utter such a variety of sounds from their fundaments at their will, as if they seemed to sing from that part. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xiv. c. 24. To which Vives adds, by way of commentary, 'Such was, in our time, a certain German in the retinue of Maximilian the emperor, and his son Philip; nor was there any tune which he could not imitate with his immodest f—ts.'

† Claudius, the fifth Roman emperor. But Suetonius only relates, that it was said the emperor Claudius had a design to authorize this freedom any where, even at feasts. See the life of Claudius, c. 32.

as they please, nature will have its course, and she would have done no more than justice, if she had endowed this member with some special privilege, as the author of the only immortal work of mortals; the divine work, according to Socrates, and love, the desire of immortality, and the immortal Dæmon himself.

Some one, perhaps, by such an effect of imagination, leaves the king's-evil behind him, which his companion carries back into Spain. This is the reason why in such cases, it is usual to require the mind to be prepared for the thing which is to be undertaken. Why do the physicians practice beforehand upon the credulity of their patient with so many false promises of his cure, unless it were that the force of imagination might be a salvo for the imposture of their apozems? They know that a great master of their faculty has left it under his hand, that there are some men on whom the very sight of a medicine has operated. What has put this whimsical conceit into my head, is the remembrance of a story that was told me by a domestic of my late father's apothecary, an honest Swiss, whose countrymen are not given to vanity nor lying, viz. That he had known a merchant at Thoulouse, who being a valetudinarian, and afflicted with the stone, had frequent occasion to take clysters, of which he caused several sorts to be prescribed to him by the physicians, according to the accidents of the disease, and they being brought to him with all the usual forms, he often felt with his finger whether they were not too hot. Being laid down on his bed, and the syringe put up, and all the apparatus performed, except injection, the apothecary being retired, and the patient treated in all respects as if he had received a clyster, he found the same effect that those do to whom it has been actually administered. And if at any time the physician did not think the operation sufficient, he gave him two or three more after the same manner. The Swiss moreover swore to me, that, to save charges, (for he paid as if he had really taken the clysters) the patient's wife having sometimes made trial of warm water only, the effect discovered the cheat, and finding these would do no good, he was fain to return to the old way.

A woman fancying she had swallowed a pin in a piece of bread, cried out, sadly complaining of an intolerable

tolerable pain in her throat, where she thought she felt it stick. But an ingenious fellow who was brought to her, finding no outward tumor, nor alteration, and guessing that it was only a conceit she had taken at some crust of bread that had pricked her as it went down, gave her a vomit, and probably dropped a crooked pin into the basin, which the woman imagined she had voided, presently found herself eased of her pain. I myself knew a gentleman, who having made an entertainment at his own house for some company, gave out, three or four days after it, by way of jest only (for there was no such thing) that he had made them eat a baked cat; at which a young lady that was one of the guests took such an abominable disgust, that she was seized with a violent sickness at her stomach, and a fever, to such a degree, that there was no possibility of saving her.

That other animals are subject to the power of imagination as well as we, has been seen in some dogs, which have died of grief for the loss of their masters. We observe them also to bark and tremble in their sleep, as horses will neigh and kick in theirs. But all this may be ascribed to the close connection betwixt the body and soul, mutually imparting what they feel to each other.

On the other hand, the imagination operates sometimes, not upon its own body only; but upon the body of another, just in the same manner as an infected body communicates its distemper to its neighbour, as we perceive it does in a plague, the small-pox and sore eyes, which are conveyed from one body to another.

Dum spectant oculi læsos, læduntur & ipsi:

Multaque corporibus transitione nocent *. i. e.

Viewing sore eyes, eyes to be sore are brought,

And many ills are by transition caught.

So the imagination, being vehemently agitated, emits ideas capable of hurting another object. We read in ancient history, of certain women in Scythia, who being animated and enraged against any one, killed them only with their looks. Turtles and ostriches hatch their eggs with only looking at them; which shews that their eyes have a certain power to dart. And the eyes of sorcerers are said to be malignant and hurtful.

Nescio

* Ovid. de remedio amoris, lib. ii. v. 320.

Nescio quis teneros oculus mibi fuscinat agnos †. i. e.

What eye it is I do not know,

My tender lambs bewitches so.

Magicians are but bad vouchers for me; yet we find by experience, that women imprint the marks of their fancy on the infants they bear in their wombs. Witness she who was brought to bed of a negro, and the girl that was brought from the neighbourhood of Pisa, and presented to Charles king of Bohemia, and emperor, all over rough and hairy, whom her mother is said to have conceived when she was looking at an image of St. John the Baptist, that hung by her bed-side.

It is the same with animals; witness Jacob's sheep, and the partridges and hares, which turn out white upon the snowy mountains. There was at my house a little while ago, a cat watching a bird that was at the top of a tree, and after having fixed their eyes stedfastly upon one another for some time, the bird dropped down dead, as it were into the cat's claws; either being intoxicated by its own imagination, or allured by some attractive power in puffs. They who are fond of hawking, must no doubt have heard the story of the falconer, who, having stedfastly fixed his eye upon a kite in the air, laid a wager that he would bring her down by the meer power of his sight; and it was said he did so. As for the tales I borrow, I charge them upon the consciences of those from whom I have them. The arguments are my own, and founded upon the proof of reason, not of experience, to which every one is at the liberty of adding his own examples; and he that has none to offer, let him believe, nevertheless, that here are enough, considering the number and variety of accidents. If I have not made a just application of them, let any body else make a better. Also in the subjects whereon I treat, of our manners and motives, the testimonies which I produce, how fabulous soever, provided they are not impossible, serve as well as the true ones. Whether they happened or not at Rome, or at Paris, to John or to Peter, it is still a turn of the human capacity, of which I have made good use by this recital. I see it, and benefit as much by it, as much in the shadow

dow as in the substance: And of the various passages I meet with in history, I select that for my purpose which is the most rare and remarkable. There are some authors, whose aim it is to give an account of things that have really happened; mine, if I can attain to it, should be to represent what may possibly happen. There is a just liberty allowed in the schools, of supposing similes when they have none at hand. I do not, however, make any use of that liberty; and as to that affair in superstitious religion, I surpass all historical authority, in the instances which I here mention of what I have heard, read, done, or said. I have laid myself under a prohibition to presume to alter the slightest and most trifling circumstances. My conscience does not falsify one tittle, what my ignorance may do, I cannot say.

This it is that makes me sometimes ponder with myself, whether it can be rightly consistent with a divine and a philosopher, and men of such delicate consciences, and exquisite wisdom, to write history. How can they stake their credit on that of the publick? How can they be responsible for the opinions of men whom they do not know, and deliver their conjectures as canon? Of actions performed before their own eyes, wherein several people were actors, they would be unwilling to give evidence before a judge, and they would not undertake to be absolute surety for the intentions of their most familiar acquaintance. For my part, I think, there is less hazard in writing of things past than present, forasmuch as the writer only relates matters upon the authority of others.

I am solicited to write the history of my own time by some people, who think I look upon its affairs with an eye less prejudiced than another, and that I have a clearer insight into them, by reason of the access which I have had, by my good fortune, to the leaders of the different factions; but they do not consider, that, were I to gain the reputation of Sallust, I would not take the pains, being such a sworn enemy, as I am, to all obligation, assiduity, and perseverance; besides, that there is nothing so inconsistent with my stile, as an extended narration. I often cut myself short in it for want of breath. I am neither good at composition nor comment,
and

and know no more, than a child, the phrases and idioms proper for expressing the most common things: Therefore I have undertaken to treat of what I know how to express, and have accommodated my subject to my capacity. Should I take a guide, I might not be able to keep pace with him. Nor do they consider, that while I indulge such a freedom, I might deliver opinions, which in my own judgment, and according to reason, would be illegal and punishable. Plutarch would be ready to tell us, that what he has wrote is the work of others; that his examples are all and every where strictly true; that they are useful to posterity; and are exhibited with such a lustre, as will light us in the way to virtue, which was his aim. Whether an old story be true or false, it is not of dangerous consequence, as it is not a medicinal drug.

C H A P. XXI. *One man's profit is another's loss.*

DEmades, the Athenian, condemned a fellow-citizen, who furnished out funerals, for demanding too great a price for his goods; and if he got an estate, it must be by the death of a great many people: But, I think it a sentence ill grounded, soasmuch as no profit can be made, but at the expence of some other person, and that every kind of gain is by that rule liable to be condemned. The tradesman thrives by the debauchery of youth, and the farmer by the dearness of corn; the architect by the ruin of buildings, the officers of justice by quarrels and law-suits; nay, even the honour and function of divines is owing to our mortality and vices. No physician takes pleasure in the health, even of his best friends, said the ancient Greek comedian, nor soldier in the peace of his country; and so of the rest *. And, what is yet worse, let every one but examine his own heart, and he will find, that his private wishes spring and grow up at the expence of some other person. Upon which consideration this thought came into my head, that nature does not hereby deviate from her general policy; for the naturalists hold,
that

* Seneca de Beneficiis, lib. vi. c. 38. from whence most of this chapter is taken.

that the birth, nourishment and increase of any one thing, is the decay and corruption of another.

Nam quodcumque suis mutatum finibus exit,

Continuo hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante *. i. e.

For what from its own confines chang'd doth pass,
Is straight the death of what before it was.

C H A P. XXII. *Of Custom, and the difficulty of changing a law once received.*

IN my opinion, that person had a very right conception of the power of custom, who invented the fable of the country woman †, who having played with, and carried in her arms, a calf from the very hour it was cast, and continuing to do so as it grew up, did, by that custom, gain so much strength, that tho' it lived to be a large ox, she still carried it. For, in truth, custom is a violent, and yet an insinuating schoolmistress; she establishes her authority over us gradually, and by stealth; but having by such a gentle and humble beginning planted and fixed it, she immediately unmasks, and shews us a furious and tyrannick countenance, against which we hardly dare so much as to lift up our eyes. We see her at every turn breaking through the laws of nature; 'Ufus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister ‡;' i. e. Custom is the greatest tyrant in nature. I give credit to the account of Plato's cave in his republick, and to the custom of the physicians, who so often resign the reasons of their art to its authority. I believe the story of that king, who, by custom, brought his stomach to that pass, as to take poison for his nourishment; and that of the young woman, who, Albert reports, was accustomed to live on poison; for in the late discovered world of the Indies, there were found great nations, and in very different climates, who lived upon them, collected and fed them for their tables, as they also did

* Lucret. lib. iii. v. 752, 753.

† It is become a kind of proverb, which Petronius has thus expressed,

Tollere taurum

Quæ tulerit vitulum illa potest.

You will also find it among the adages of Erasmus, chil. 1. cent. 2. ad. 51.

‡ Pliny's nat. hist. lib. xxvi. c. 2.

did grasshoppers, mice, lizards, and bats; and, in dearth of provisions, a toad was sold for six crowns; all which they dress, and serve up with various sauces. There were also others found, to whom the flesh we eat, and our others provisions were deadly poison. ‘*Consuetudinis magna vis est: Pernoctant venatores in nive: In montibus uri se patiuntur: Pugiles caestibus contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem **.’ i. e. Great is the power of custom. It makes huntsmen pass whole nights in the snow, and to suffer themselves in the day to be parched with heat on the mountains; and the prize-fighters, though beat almost to a jelly, not so much as to utter a single groan. These foreign instances will not be thought so strange, if we consider, what we know by common experience, how much custom dulls our senses. To be satisfied with this, we need not go to the Nile to be certified of what is reported of those who live near its cataracts; nor need we discredit what the philosophers think of the musick of the spheres, that the bodies of those circles being solid and smooth, and happening to touch and rub one another in their roll, cannot fail to produce a wonderful harmony, by the quavers and changes whereof, the revolutions and carols (i. e. dances) of the stars are modulated; for we are to take it for granted, that the hearing faculty of all creatures here below being stupified, like that of the Egyptians, by the continuance of this sound, cannot perceive it how great soever. Smiths, millers, armourers, and the like, could never be able to live in the noise of their trades, if it struck their ears with the same violence as it does ours. My perfumed band gratifies my own nostrils at first, but after I have worn it a little while, it is only smelt by those who come near me; but it is yet more strange that custom, notwithstanding the long intermissions and intervals, should yet have the power to unite and establish the effect of its impressions upon our senses, as those experience who live near churches where there is ringing of bells. I lie at home in a turret, where every morning and evening a very great bell rings out the ‘ave maria,’ the noise of which shakes the bed under me, and at first I thought it in supportable; but a little time made it so

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familiar

* Cic. Tusc. quest. lib. ii. c. 17.

familiar to me, that I now hear it without offence, and often it does not awake me.

Plato having reproved a boy for playing with nuts, the child said, 'You blame me for a trifle.' Plato replied, 'Custom is not such a trifle *.' I observe, that our greatest vices are derived from the impression made on us in our most tender years, and that we are principally governed by our nurses. The mothers are delighted in seeing a child twist the neck of a chicken, and divert itself in hurting a puppy or a kitten. And there are such silly fathers in the world, as think it a happy presage of a warlike spirit, when they see their sons fall foul on an innocent peasant, or a lackey, that dares not hold up his hand in his defence. And they think it shews a genius in a lad, when they see him outwitting his play-fellow by some unlucky trick or knavery; yet these are the true seeds and roots of cruelty, tyranny, and treachery. In these years they bud, and afterwards sprout up vigorously, and thrive a-main in the hands of custom; and it is a very dangerous error to excuse these vile inclinations by the tenderness of years, and the levity of the subject. In the first place, it is nature that speaks, the voice of which is then more pure and genuine, as it is younger and shriller. Secondly, The deformity of cozenage does not depend on the difference betwixt crown pieces and pins, but meerly upon itself; and I should think it more just to reason thus; Why would he not cheat for a crown, since he does so for a pin? than to argue as they do, who say, He only plays for pins; he would not cheat, if it was for money. Children should be carefully taught to abhor the vices of their own contriving, and the natural deformity of them ought to be so represented, that they may not only avoid them in their actions, but hate them from their hearts, that the very thought of them may be odious to them, what mask soever they wear. I know very well, that for my own part, having been trained in my childhood to walk in

* Diogenes Laertius in the life of Plato, lib. iii. segm. 38. where he does not say, that the person reproved by Plato was a child, and that he played with nuts; but, he says, that he played with dice, which renders Plato's answer of much more importance.

in a plain open path, and having then entertained my aversion to all manner of tricking and shuffling in my childish sports, (as it must be noted, that the plays of children are not in jest, but must be judged of as their most serious actions) there is no pastime, how trifling soever, wherein I partake, but I bring an extreme aversion to deceit in it from my heart, and from my natural inclination, and without study. I shuffle and cut the cards, and keep as strict an account for a livre, as if it were for a double pistole; and when I play in good earnest with others for a round sum, it is with the same indifference, whether I win or lose, as when I play against my wife or daughter. At all times, and in all places, my own eyes are a sufficient watch upon my actions. I am not so narrowly observed by any others, nor are there any that I am more cautious of offending.

I saw, t'other day, at my own house, a little fellow, a native of Nantes, born without arms, who has so well disciplined his feet to perform the services his hands should have done him, that in reality his feet have in a great measure forgot their natural office. Moreover, he calls them his hands; he cuts with them, charges and discharges a pistol, threads a needle, sews, writes, puts off his hat, combs his head, plays at cards and dice, and all this with as much dexterity as any body; and the money I gave him he carried away in his foot as we do in our hand.

I knew another, who, when he was but a lad, flourished a two handed sword, and a halbert, merely by the twisting and twining of his neck for want of hands, tossed them into the air, and caught them again; darted a dagger, and cracked a whip, as well as any waggoner in France. But the effects of custom are much better discovered, by the strange impression it makes on our minds, where it does not meet with so much resistance. What has it not the power to impose upon our judgment and credulity? Omitting the gross impostures in religion, with which we have seen so many populous nations, and so many able men intoxicated; (for this being beyond the sphere of human reason, an error is more excusable in such as are not by the divine favour enlightened in an extraordinary manner) is there any opinion so fantastick,

but there are others as strange, which it has planted and established as laws in whatsoever countries it thought fit. And therefore that ancient exclamation was exceeding just, 'Non pudet physicum, id est, speculatorem, venatoremque naturæ ab animis consuetudine imbutis quærere testimonium veritatis *?' Is it not a shame for a natural philosopher, whose business it is to investigate and pry into the secrets of nature, to have recourse to the prejudice of custom for the evidence of truth?

I reckon, that there is no fancy, how absurd soever, that can enter into the imagination of man, but it has the example of some publick practice, and which is a sanction to our reason. There are people amongst whom it is a fashion to turn their backs upon the person whom they salute, and not to look in the face of the man whom they mean to honour. There is a court, where, whenever the king spits, the lady that is his chief favourite holds out her hand to receive it; and another nation, where the most eminent persons about the sovereign stoop to the ground to take up his ordure in a linen cloth. Let us here slip in a story. A French gentleman always blew his nose betwixt his fingers, (a thing very unfashionable with us) which he justified, and being a man who had wit at will, he ask'd me what privilege had this nasty excrement, that we must carry a piece of fine linen about us to receive it in; and not only so, but, moreover, fold it up, and carry it carefully about in our pockets, which must be more offensive than to see it thrown away, as we do all our other evacuations? I thought that what he said was not altogether without reason; and, by being frequently in his company, custom made the practice appear not so strange, how hideous soever we think it, when it is reported of another country. Miracles appear such, according to our ignorance of nature, and not according to the real essence of nature. Custom blinds the eye of our judgment. We are as much a wonder to the Barbarians, as they are to us, and with as much reason, as every one would acknowledge, if, after having reflected upon these remote examples, he was capable of reflecting on the examples he gives himself upon his own customs, and comparing them fairly with the

* Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i. c. 30. translated by the abbe d'Olivet.

the examples and usages of other nations; human nature is a tincture equally infused into all our opinions and manners, of what form soever they are, infinite in matter, infinite in diversity. To return to my subject, there are people where (his wife and children excepted) no one speaks to the king but through a trunk. In one and the same nation the virgins discover their secret parts, and the married women carefully cover and conceal them. To this a certain custom bears some relation in another place, where chastity is only esteemed in the married state; for there the unmarried women may prostitute themselves to as many as they please, and, when with child, may take medicines publickly to procure abortion. And in another place, if a tradesman marries, all the tradesmen who are invited to the wedding lie with the bride before him; and the more of them there are, the greater is her honour, and her character for courage and ability. If an officer or nobleman marry, the case is the same, and so it is with others, except it be a labouring man, or some one of low degree; for then the lord of the manor performs the office, and yet a strict fidelity is recommended during the state of wedlock. There is a place where men are stewed in brothel-houses for the entertainment of the women, and where, in the married state, the wives go to the wars as well as their husbands, and take rank, not only in battle, but also in command. In some places they not only wear rings in their nostrils, lips, cheeks, and toes, but very weighty ones in their breasts and buttocks. In others, when they eat, they wipe their fingers upon their thighs, their cod-pieces, and the soles of their feet. In some places the children are not heirs, but only the brothers and nephews; and elsewhere only the nephews, saving in the succession to the crown. There are some places, where, for the regulation of the community of goods and estates observed in the country, certain sovereign magistrates have a universal commission to cultivate the lands, and distribute the fruits according to every one's necessity. In some places they mourn for the death of children, and feast at the decease * of old men. In some places they lie

F 3

ten

* I fancy Montaigne took this from Herodotus, lib. v. p. 330.
where

ten or twelve in a bed, men and their wives together. In one country, the women whose husbands come to an untimely end, may marry again; others not. In another, the condition of women is so disliked, that the female issue of their marriages are destroyed, and they buy women of their neighbours for their occasions. In some places the men may be parted from their wives without shewing any cause, but not the wives from the husbands for any cause whatever. In others, the husbands are allowed to sell their wives, if they are barren. In others they boil the corpse of the deceased, and then bruise it till it becomes like a jelly, which they mix with their wine and drink. In some countries the most desirable sepulture is to be eaten by dogs *, and elsewhere by birds. It is the opinion, in some places, that the souls of the happy live in all manner of liberty, in pleasant fields, furnished with all manner of conveniencies, and that the echoes we hear come from them. In others, they fight in the water, and shoot their arrows with success while they are swimming. In others they signify their subjection by lifting up their shoulders, and hanging down their heads, and put off their shoes when they enter the king's palace. The eunuchs in one place who have charge of the nuns, have moreover their noses and lips cut off, that they may be the less amiable; and where the priests put out their own eyes, to get acquainted with their dæmons, and receive the oracles. In some places every one creates a deity out of what he pleases; the huntsman deifies a lion, or a fox; the fisherman some fish or other; and they make idols of every human action or passion. The sun, the moon, and the earth are the principal deities; and the form of taking an oath is to touch the earth, with the eyes lifted up to the sun, and there they eat both flesh and fish raw. There is a place where the most solemn oath is †, to swear by the name of some deceased person who was of eminence in the country, laying

where, the historian says, that certain people of Thrace weep at the birth of their young children, and bury their dead with great marks of joy.

* Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrh. Hypol. lib. iii. c. 24. p. 157.

† Herodot. lib. iv. p. 318. Nymphadorus, lib. xiii. *Rerum Barbaricarum*.

laying the hand at the same time on his tomb. In some places the new-year's gift which the king sends to the princes his vassals, is fire ; which being brought, all the old fire is put out, and this new fire all the neighbouring people are obliged to fetch every one for themselves, upon pain of incurring the guilt and punishment of high-treason. In another place, when the king retires from his administration, purely to devote himself to religion, (which often happens) his next successor is obliged to do the same ; by which means the right of the government devolves to the third person in the succession. In some places the form of government is varied according to the exigency of affairs. They depose the king when they think it fitting, substituting the elders of the people to take the helm of government, and sometimes they transfer it to the hands of the commonality. In some parts the men and women are both circumcised, and also baptized. In others, the soldier, who in one or several engagements has happened to bring seven of the enemy's heads to the king is made noble. In some countries they entertain the singular and unfociable opinion that the soul is mortal. In others the women are delivered of children without any complaint or fear. In some places they wear copper-boots upon both legs, and if a louse bites them *, they are bound by the obligation of magnanimity, to bite that louse again ; and dare not marry, till they have first made a tender of their virginity if he requires it. In other places the common way of salutation is, by touching the earth with a finger, and then pointing it up towards heaven. Some places there are where the men carry burdens upon their heads, and women upon their shoulders † ; and where the women piss standing, and the men couching down : Where they send drops of their blood in token of friendship, and pay the same incense to the men they would honour, as to the gods : Where kindred are not allowed to marry, not only to the fourth, but to any remoter degree of affinity : Where the children are kept four years at nurse, and often twelve ; where it is also accounted mortal to give the infants the breast on the first day after it is born :

F 4

Where

* Herodot. lib. iv. p. 317. Nicot. † Ibidem. lib. iv. p. 324.

Where the correction of the male children is the peculiar province of the fathers, and that of the females the sole prerogative of the mothers, the punishment being to suspend them by the heels in the smoke. In some places they actually circumcise the women, and eat all sorts of herbs, without scrupling any but such as have a bad smell. In some all places are open, and their finest houses with the richest furniture, without doors, windows or chests, the punishment inflicted on thieves being double to what it is elsewhere. In some places they crack lice with their teeth like monkeys, and abhor killing them with their nails. In some places they never cut their hair, nor pare their nails; and in others they pare those of the right-hand only, letting those of the left grow for ornament; and suffer the hair on the right-side to grow as long as it will, while they keep the other side shaved*; and in the neighbouring provinces some let their hair grow long before, as others do that behind, and shave the rest close. In some places the parents let out their children, and husbands their wives to their guests for hire. Others there are, where men may get their own mothers with child, and fathers make use of their own daughters, or of their sons, without any scandal or offence. In others they interchangeably lend their children to one another at their festivals, without any consideration of proximity of blood. In one place men feed upon human flesh; in another, it is reckoned a charitable office for a man to kill his father at a certain age†; and elsewhere the fathers appoint the children, while yet in their mother's womb, some to be preserved, and carefully brought up, and others to be abandoned, and killed. Elsewhere the old husbands lend their wives to young men; and in other places they are in common without offence: Nay, there is a country where the women wear, as a mark of honour, as many fringed tassels to their gowns as they have enjoyed men‡.

Moreover, has not custom made a republick of women, separately by themselves? Has it not put arms into their hands? made them to raise armies, and fight battles?

* Herodot. lib. iv. p. 324.
Hypot. lib. iii. c. 24. p. 153.

† Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh.
‡ Herodot. lib. iv. p. 319.

battles? And does it not, by its single precept, instruct the most ignorant vulgar in things which all the philosophy in the world could never beat into the heads of the wisest men *? For we know entire nations, where death was not only despised, but heartily welcomed; where children of seven years old suffered themselves even to be whipp'd to death, without changing their countenance †; where riches were held in such contempt, that the meanest subject would not have deign'd to stoop to take up a purse of crown pieces. And we know countries very fruitful in all manner of provisions, where the most common diet, and yet what they are most pleas'd with, was only bread, cresses, and water ‡. Was it not custom also that work'd that miracle in Chios, that in 700 § years it was never remembered that either maid or wife did any thing to stain their honour? And, to conclude, there is nothing, in my opinion, which custom does not, or is not capable of doing; and therefore Pindar justly calls it, the 'queen and the empress of the world ||.' He that was reproved for beating his father made answer, That it was the custom of his family; that his father had in like manner beaten his grandfather, his grandfather his great-grandfather; and, then pointing to him, this son of mine will beat me also, when he comes to my age. And the father whom the son dragg'd along the street, bid him to stop at a certain door, because he himself had dragg'd his father no farther, that being the utmost limit of the hereditary insolence with which the sons used to treat the fathers in their family. It is as much from custom, says Aristotle, as from infirmity, that women tear their hair, bite their nails, eat coals and chalk; and more from custom than nature, that men abuse themselves with one another.

The laws of conscience, which we pretend to be derived from nature, proceed from custom; every man having an internal veneration for the opinions and manners approved and received amongst his countrymen,

F 5

cannot

* The Thracians, Valer. Maximus, lib. ii. ch. 6. sect. 12.

† At Lacedæmon.

‡ In Persia, in the reign of Cyrus,

Xenophon's Cyropædia, lib. i. c. 8. and 11. Oxford edit. 1703.

§ Plutarch, in his treatise of the virtuous behaviour of women, in the article of those of Chios.

|| Herodot. lib. iii. p. 200.

cannot depart from them without reluctance, nor apply to them without applause.

When the people of Crete, in times past, had a mind to curse any one, they prayed the gods to engage them in some evil * habit. But the principal effect of the power of custom, is to seize and intangle us in such a manner, that it is hardly in our power to disengage ourselves from its gripe, or so to recover ourselves, as to reason and discourse upon what it enjoins. To say the truth, because we suck it in with our mother's milk, and the face of the world presents itself in this posture to our first sight, it seems as if we were born upon condition of pursuing this very course; and the common fancies that we find in repute every where round us, and infused into our minds with the feed of our parents, appear to be genuine and natural. From hence it happens, that whatever does not turn on the hinge of custom, is thought to be off of the hinges of reason, tho', God knows, how unreasonably for the most part. If, as we who study ourselves, have learnt to do, every one who hears a just sentence, would immediately consider how it may any way affect himself, every one would find, that it was not so much a good saying, as a severe lash to the ordinary stupidity of his own judgment. But men receive the admonitions of truth, and its precepts, as addressed to the vulgar only, and never to themselves; and instead of applying them to their own behaviour, every one is content with committing them to memory, very absurdly and unprofitably. Return we now to the tyranny of custom.

People that have been bred up to liberty, and to be their own masters, look upon every other system of government to be monstrous, and contrary to nature. Those who are inured to monarchy do the same; and though fortune may give them ever so favourable an opportunity of altering it, even then when they have with the greatest difficulty disengaged themselves from the troublesome sway of one master, they hasten with like difficulties to place another in his room, so fond are they of the subjection they have been accustomed to.

It

* Valer. Maxim. lib. vii. externis, sect. 15.

It is owing to custom, that every one is pleased with the spot in which he was planted by nature; and the * Highlanders of Scotland pant no more for the fine air of Touraine, than the Scythians do for the delightful fields of Thessaly.

Darius asking the Greeks what they would take to follow the custom of the Indians †, in eating the bodies of their deceased parents? (for that was their practice, as believing they could not give them a better sepulture than in their own bodies) they made answer, That they would not do it for any thing in the world: But having also tried to persuade the Indians to leave off their custom, and to burn the bodies of their parents, after the manner of the Greeks, they conceived a still greater horror at the motion. Every one does the same; for custom veils the true aspect of things from our eyes.

*Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam
Principio, quod non minuant mirarier omnes
Paulatim ‡.*

Nothing at first so great, so strange appears,
Which by degrees, use in succeeding years
Renders not more familiar.

Taking upon me once to justify one of our observations that was received with absolute authority round us for a great many leagues, and being not content, as people commonly are, to establish it only by force of laws and examples; but enquiring still further into its origin, I perceived the foundation so weak, that I, who strove to confirm it in others, was very near being dissatisfied with it myself. It is by this recipe that Plato § undertakes to eradicate the unnatural and preposterous amours of his time, which he esteems the sovereign and principal remedy, viz. That the publick opinion condemns them; that the poets, and all other writers, relate sad stories of them.

* These are an ignorant people, who are said to live only upon rapine. They who know nothing of the country, need only read Froissart, vol. ii. c. 165, 69, and 174. and they will perceive why Montaigne sets Touraine in opposition to them.

† Herodotus, lib. iii. p. 200. As to the custom of the Indians eating the bodies of their dead parents, see Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. iii. c. 24. p. 157.

‡ Lucret. lib. ii. v. 1027.

§ De Legibus, lib. viii. p. 646.

them. A recipe, by the virtue of which the most beautiful daughters no longer allure their father's lusts, nor brothers of the finest shape the desire of their sisters; the very fables of Thyestes, OEdipus, and Macareus, having with the harmony of their song infused this wholesome belief into the tender brains of infants. Chastity is in truth an amiable virtue, the utility of which is sufficiently known; but to manage and set it off according to nature, is as difficult, as it is easy to do it according to custom, laws and precepts. The scrutiny into the fundamental and universal reasons is difficult; and our masters, by skimming lightly over them, or not daring so much as to grope for them, precipitate themselves at first dash into the privilege of custom, in which they pride themselves and triumph. They who will not suffer themselves to be drawn from this original, scarce commit an error still greater, and submit themselves to wild opinions; witness Chrysippus*; who, in so many of his writings, has shewn the ridiculous light in which he look'd upon incestuous conjunctions of what nature soever.

Whoever would disengage himself from this violent prejudice of custom, will find many things received without scruple, which have no other foundation but the hoary head and furrowed face of custom; but when this mask is taken off, and things referred to the decision of truth and reason, he will find his judgment, as it were, quite overthrown, and yet restored to a state much more sure. For example, I would then ask him, what can be more strange than to see people obliged to obey laws which they never understood, and to be bound in all their domestick affairs, marriages, grants, wills, sales, and purchases, to rules which they cannot possibly know, being neither written nor published in their own language, and of which they must necessarily pay for the interpretation and uses; not according to the ingenious sentiment of Socrates, who advised his king to make the traffick and negociation of his subjects free and lucrative to them, and to charge their quarrels and debates with heavy taxes; but by a monstrous opinion to make a traffick of reason itself, and to make the laws as current as merchandize. I think myself obliged to fortune, that (as our

historians

* Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. i. c. 14. p. 31.

historians say) it was a Gascon gentleman, a countryman of mine, that was the first that opposed Charlemain, when he attempted to impose Latin and imperial laws, on us.

What sight can there be more savage, than to see * a nation, where custom has made it lawful to sell the office of a judge, and to buy sentences with ready money, and where justice is legally denied to the party who has not wherewithal to pay for it; and where this merchandize is in so great credit, as to form a fourth estate in the government, viz. of lawyers, to be added to the three ancient ones in the church, the nobility and the people; which fourth estate having the laws in their hands, and the sovereign power over men's lives and fortunes, forms a body separate from the nobility. From hence it comes to pass, that there are double laws, those of honour, and those of justice, in many things directly opposite to one another; the nobles as rigorously condemning a lie suffered, as the others do a lie revenged. By the martial law of arms, he who puts up an affront, shall be degraded from all nobility and honour; and by the civil law, he who takes revenge, incurs a capital punishment. He who has recourse to the laws to obtain satisfaction for an injury done to his honour, disgraces himself; and he who does not, is punished by the laws: And of these two branches, so different, yet both of them referring to one head. Those have the care of peace, these of war; those the profit, these the honour; those wisdom, these of virtue; those the privilege of speech, these of action; those justice, these valour; those reason, these force; those the long robe, these the short one.

As for matters of indifference, such as apparel, where is the person who is for reducing it to the true end of wearing it, which is the service and convenience of the body, upon which its original grace and decency depend. Among the most whimsical that I think can be invented, I will mention to him our square caps, that long tail of twisted velvet which hangs down from our women's heads with its whimsical trinkets, and that idle
bawble

* France, where this disorder has even increased since Montaigne's time, and where it is like to last as long as the monarchy itself.

bawble of the model of a member, we cannot in modesty so much as mention, and which, nevertheless we make publick parade with.

These considerations, however, will not prevail upon any man of understanding to decline the common mode: Tho' I cannot help thinking, that all singular and far-fetched fashions are rather marks of folly and vain affectation, than of right reason; and that the wise man ought in his own mind to retire from the crowd, and there keep his soul at liberty, and in vigour to judge freely of things, while nevertheless, as to outward appearance, he ought intirely to conform to the fashions and forms of the time. Publick society has nothing to do with our private opinions; but as for the rest, namely, our actions, our labour, our lives and fortunes, they must be bent and devoted to the publick service, and to the common opinions, as the great and good Socrates refused to save his life by disobedience to the magistrate, though a very unjust and wicked one: For it is the rule of rules, and the general law of all laws, that every person should observe those of the place where he is.

*Νόμοις ἔπισθαι τοῖσιν ἐγχωρίοις καλόν **.

Proceed we now to another topic. It is a matter of great doubt whether there is more profit than harm in changing a law that has been once received, be it what it will; so far as a system of government is like to a building of divers parts, so joined together, that it is impossible to stir or shake any of them without affecting the rest. The legislator of the Thuriens made an order †, that whoever offered to abolish any of the old laws, or to establish a new one, should come before the people with a halter about his neck, to the end, that, if the innovation was not unanimously approved, he should be strangled on the spot. And that of Lacedæmon ‡, made it the business of his life to get a faithful promise from his citizens, that they would not infringe any of his ordinances. The Ephorus §, who so rudely cut the two strings which Phry-
nis

* In Excerpt. Gratianis, p. 397. † Charondas in Diodorus of Sicily. lib. xii. c. 4. ‡ Lycurgus. See his life by Plutarch, ch.

21. § Plutarch, in his notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians, calls this Ephorus, Etnerepes. Valer. Max. lib. ii. c. 6. sect. 7.

nis had added to musick, never stood to examine whether that addition made a better harmony ; it was enough to him to condemn the invention, because it was an alteration of the old composition: Which also is the meaning of the old rusty sword of justice carried before the magistracy of Marseilles. For my part, I have an aversion to novelty of what complection soever, and have reason, having been an eye witness of its mischievous consequences. The innovation which has for so many years oppressed this kingdom (of France) has not indeed directly done all the mischief it has suffered, but it may be said, with some colour of reason, that it has accidentally fomented and produced all, both the evils and distresses that are since continued, both without and against it, and that the said disorders are chargeable on the said innovation.

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis *. i. e.

Alas! the Wounds by which I smart,

My own sharp Weapons did impart.

They who give a shock to a state, are ready to be the first who are swallowed up in its ruin. The fruits of a publick commotion are seldom enjoyed by the person who fomented it. He only disturbs the water for others to catch the fish. The unity and contexture of this monarchy, in this great structure, having been remarkably broken and dissolved in its old age, by this innovation, has made way for the entrance of the like injuries. The royal Majesty does not easily sink from the summit to the middle, but tumbles headlong from the middle to the foundation. But if the inventors do the most mischief, the imitators are the more criminal to follow examples, of which they have felt and punished both the horror and the evil: and if there be any degree of horror, even in doing ill, the latter owe to the former the glory of inventing, and the courage of making the first effort. New disorders of all kinds derive ideas and precedents for disturbing our government from this original and plentiful source. We read in our very laws made for the remedy of this primitive evil, the first essays of bad enterprizes of all kinds, and the excuse made for them. And what *Thucydides* says of the civil wars in his time,

* Ovid. in epist. of Phillis to Demophoon, v. 48.

time, is applicable to us, that, to palliate publick vices, their true names are sophisticated and softened by new ones, which are not so harsh. It is however to reform our consciences and opinions. ‘*Honesta oratio est* *’, i. e. it is a plausible speech; but the best plea for innovation is very dangerous: and, to speak my thoughts with freedom, it seems to me to be great self-love and presumption in a man, to set such a value upon his own opinions, that the publick peace must absolutely be destroyed, to establish them, and a multitude of inevitable evils introduced into his own country, together with so dreadful a corruption of manners as a civil war, and the charges on the state in a matter of such consequence, always brings in its train. Is it not bad management to set up so many certain and palpable vices against errors that are doubtful and disputable? Are there any views worse than these committed against a man’s own conscience, and the natural light of his own reason? the senate, upon its dispute with the people concerning the administration of their religion, presumed to make use of this evasive argument, † ‘*Ad Deos id magis quam ad se pertinere; ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua polluantur*.’ i. e. that this affair was not so much their concern as that of the gods, who would themselves take care that their sacred mysteries were not polluted; according to the answer which the oracle returned to those of Delphos, who, in the Median war, dreading an invasion from the Persians, enquired of Apollo what they should do with the sacred treasure of his temple, whether they should hide it, or carry it elsewhere. To which the god return’d for answer, ‘that they should not ‡ remove any thing, ‘but only take care of themselves, soasmuch as he was ‘sufficient to take care of his own property.’ The christian religion has all the marks of justice and utility to an extreme degree, but none more manifest; than the strict recommendation of obedience to magistrates, and the maintenance of the police. What a marvellous instance of this has the divine wisdom left us, who, in establishing

* Terence Andr. act 1. sc. 1. v. 104.

† Tit. Liv. x. c. 6. The application which Montaigne here makes of these words of Livy, agrees by no means with the construction they bear in that historian, as all who will be at the trouble to consult him may perceive. ‡ Herodot. lib. viii. p. 539, 540.

ing the salvation of mankind, and in conducting this his glorious victory over death and sin, chose to do it only in conformity to our political government, and submitted his progress, and the conduct of so sublime and salutiferous an operation, to the blindness and injustice of our observations and customs; suffering the innocent blood to be shed of so many of his chosen favourites, and bearing with the loss of such a number of years, to the maturing of this inestimable fruit? there is a wide difference betwixt the case of one who complies with the forms and laws of his country, and of another that undertakes to regulate and change them. The first pleads in his excuse simplicity, obedience and example, so that whatever he does, it cannot be imputed to malice, but at the worst to misfortune. *Quis est enim, quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata, consignataque antiquitas* *? i. e. Who is there that is not touched with respect for antiquity, sealed and confirmed by the most illustrious testimonies? besides what Isocrates says, that deficiency is more a sharer in moderation than excess; the last is in a track much more rugged †: for he who busies himself to choose and alter, usurps the authority of judging, and must take it upon himself to discover the defect of what he is for removing, and the benefit of what he is about to introduce. This consideration, as vulgar as it is, is that which fix'd me in my seat, and kept the rein upon even the rashest part of my youth, so as not to burthen my shoulders with so dead a weight, as to render myself responsible for a science of such importance, and to presume in that state to do what in my more mature judgment I durst not attempt in the most easy thing I had ever learned, and wherein the rashness of judging does no harm, it seeming to me very unjust to go about to subject publick and established customs and institutions to

* Cicero de divinatione, lib. i. c. 40.

† All that follows from the words, 'he who busies himself,' to the passage from Cicero inclusively ending thus, 'not by Zeno, Cleanthes, nor Chryppus,' is not to be found in the folio edition by Abel Angelier, printed at Paris in 1597, three years after the death of our author; nor in another folio edition printed at Paris by Michael Blageant in 1640. I leave it to the reader to judge, whether this addition be Montaigne's or not; but I thought myself obliged to insert it in this edition, because I not only find it in the edition printed at Paris since 1640, but in one printed at Leyden in 1689.

to the weakness and instability of private fancy, (for private reason has only a private jurisdiction) and to make that incroachment upon the divine laws, which no government would suffer upon the civil laws; with which the human reason has much more concern than with the former, yet are they sovereignly judged by their own proper judges; and the utmost sufficiency serves only to explain and extend the custom derived from it, and not to divert, nor make any innovation in it. If sometimes the divine providence has superseded the rules to which it has necessarily restrained us, it is not to give us a dispensation from them. These are only strokes of the divine hand, which we must not imitate, but admire, and extraordinary examples that purposely and particularly prove the kind of miracles which it offers us for a manifestation of its almighty power, above our rules and capacity, which it were a folly and impiety to attempt to imitate, and which we ought not to follow, but to contemplate with astonishment, they being acts peculiar to the essence of him by whom they are performed, and not personal to us. Cotta declares very opportunely, when matters of religion are the subject, I hearken to T. Coruncanus, P. Scipio, P. Scævola the high priests; but I give no ear to Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus *. In our present quarrel, where there are a hundred articles to be struck out and put in, articles that are also of very great importance, God knows, how many there are who can boast of their having nicely understood the grounds and reasons of both the parties. It is a number, if it amounts to a number, that would not be very able to disturb us. But what becomes of all the rest of the posse? under what ensigns do they rank? the case is the same with them as with other weak and ill applied medicines, whereby the humours they are designed to purge off, are only fermented, exasperated and inflamed in the conflict, and left still behind. The medicine was too weak to purge us, but strong enough to weaken us, so that we cannot get rid of it, and receive no effect from its operation, but inward pains of long duration.

So it is, nevertheless, that fortune, say what we will, presents us sometimes with a necessity so urgent, that it
is

* Cic. de Natura Deorum, lib. iii. c. 2.

is requisite the laws should give place to it : And where opposition is made to the increase of an innovation which intrudes itself by violence, for a man to keep himself in all places and things within bounds and rules against these who are at full liberty to do what they list, and to whom all things are lawful that may serve to advance their design, and who have no other law nor rule but to pursue their own advantage, is a dangerous obligation and inequality.

*Auditum nocendi perfido præstat fides **.

The naked truth does her fair breast disarm,

And gives to treachery a power to harm.

Forasmuch as the ordinary discipline of a healthful state does not provide against these extraordinary accidents, it presupposes a body that supports itself in its principal members and offices, and a common consent to its obedience and observation. To proceed, according to law, is a cold and heavy constrained work, and not fit to make head against a licentious and unbridled proceeding. It is known, that those great personages, Octavius and Cato, in the two civil wars of Sylla and Cæsar, are to this day reproached, that they chose to let their country suffer the last extremities, rather than to relieve it at the expence of its laws, or to make any stir. For, in truth, in these last necessities, wherein there is no remedy, it would, peradventure, be more discreet to stoop and yield a little to receive the blow, than by opposing, without any possibility of doing good, to make way for violence to trample every thing under foot ; and it were better to make the laws do what they can, since they cannot do what they would. After this manner did he who suspended them for twenty-four hours ; and he who for once shifted a day in the calendar ; and that other, viz. Alexander the great †, who in the month of June made a second May. The Lacedæmonians themselves, such religious observers as they were of the laws of their country, being straitened by their own law, which prohibited the chusing of the same man to be admiral twice ; and, on the other hand, their affairs necessarily requiring that Lyfander should fill that office again, they made one Aracus

* Seneca, in Oedip. act 3. v. 693.
in cap. 5. of Amyot's translation.

† See his life by Plutarch,

cus admiral, 'tis true, but withal Lyfander was superintendent of the * marine. And, by the same policy, one of their ambassadors being sent to the Athenians to obtain the alteration of some decree, and Pericles remonstrating to him that it was forbid to take away the tablet, or register wherein a law had been ingrossed, advised him only to turn it over, forasmuch as this was not prohibited †. And Plutarch commends Philopœmen, that whereas born to command, he knew not only how to command according to the laws, but also to ‡ over-rule the laws themselves, when the publick necessity required it.

C H A P. XXIII. *Different events from the same counsel.*

JAMES AMYOT §, great almoner of France gave me this history one day, to the honour of a prince of ours (who, tho' of foreign extraction, was our's in very deed) that in the time of our first troubles, at the siege of Roan, that prince being advertised by the queen (mother to the king) of a plot that was formed against his life, and being particularly informed by his letters who was to be the chief conductor of it, viz. a gentleman of Anjou, or Maine, who at that time commonly came to the prince's palace for that purpose, he did not communicate his intelligence to any one person in the whole world, but going, the next day, to St. Catherine's mount, where was our battery against Roan (which we at that time laid siege to) attended by the said great almoner, and another bishop, he took notice of this very gentleman, who had been described to him, and sent for him. When he came before him, the prince finding him pale, and trembling with the consciousness of his guilt, he said to him, ' Mr. ——— you mistrust, I find, what I have to say to you, and your very countenance shews it; it is in vain to think of hiding any thing from me, for I am so well informed of your business, that you will only make bad worse,

* Plutarch in the life of Lyfander, cap. 4.
 † In the comparison of Titus Quintus Flaminus with Philopœmen, towards the end.

‡ Idem, in the life of Pericles, cap. 18.
 § The celebrated translator of Plutarch.

‘ worse, by an attempt to conceal it ; you very well know, such a thing and such a thing, which were the links and limits to the most secret parts in the plot ; and therefore, as you value your life, do not fail to confess the truth of the whole design to me.’ When the poor man found he was detected, (for the whole affair had been discovered to the queen by one of the accomplices) he had nothing to do, but with folded hands was going to throw himself at the feet of the prince to implore his mercy and forgiveness ; but the prince prevented him, and proceeded to ask him as follows ? ‘ Pray, did I ever do any thing to disoblige you ? Have I from any particular spite offended any that belonged to you ? It is not above three weeks that I have known you ; what inducement could you have to aim at my life ?’ To this the gentleman answered with a faltering voice, ‘ That he had no particular reason for it, but the interest of the cause of his party in general ; and that he had been persuaded by some of them, that it would be a very pious act to extirpate so powerful an enemy to their religion by any means whatsoever. Well, ’ said the prince, ‘ I will now let you see how much more amiable is the religion I maintain than that which you profess ; your’s has advised you to murder me without giving me a hearing, and without any provocation ; whereas mine commands me to forgive you, tho’ you know in your conscience that you would have killed me without any reason. Get you from hence instantly, and let me see you no more here ; and if you are wise, chuse honest men to be of your counsel in future designs.’

The emperor Augustus, being in Gaul, had certain intelligence of a conspiracy which was formed against him by Lucius Cinna, for which he resolved to make an example of him * ; and, for that purpose, summoned a council of his friends to meet him next day ; but the night preceding he was very uneasy in his mind to think that he was going to put to death a young gentleman of a good family, nephew to Pompey the great, which made him break out into these complaints, ‘ What ! shall it be

‘ said

* See Seneca, in his treatise of clemency, lib. i. cap. 9. from whence the whole story is here transcribed verbatim.

' said that I live in terror and alarm, and suffer my assassin to walk abroad at his full liberty? Shall he go unpunished, after having conspired against my life; a life which I have hitherto defended in so many civil wars, and so many battles both by land and sea, and after I had established universal peace in the world? Shall the man be pardoned after he had determined not only to murder, but to sacrifice me?' For the plot was laid to kill him while he was assisting in some sacrifice. After this he remained for some time silent, but then he began again, in a louder note, to exclaim against himself, saying, 'Why livest thou, if it be a thing of such importance to so many people that thou shouldest die? Will there be no end to thy revenge and cruelty? Is thy life of so much worth, that so much mischief must be done to preserve it?'

Livia, his wife, perceiving him in this perplexity, 'Will you for once, said she, be advised by a woman? Do as the physicians do, when the common remedies do no good, they make trial of the contrary. You have not done yourself any good hitherto by your severity. Lepidus has followed Savidenus; Murena Lepidus; Cæpio Murena; Ignatius Cæpio. Begin now and try how lenity and clemency will succeed. Cinna is found guilty, pardon him, it will be out of his power to hurt thee hereafter, and such forgiveness will redound to thy honour.'

Augustus, very glad that he had met with an advocate of his own humour, thanked his wife; and dismissing his friends whom he had summoned to council, ordered that Cinna should be brought to him all alone; which being done, he commanded every one out of the room, and when he was, by his appointment, * seated in a chair,

* This circumstance, expressly noted by Seneca, is not immaterial, because it shews us the manners of that age; and therefore I think that the celebrated Corneille did well to make use of it in his tragedy of Cinna. A king who should think it derogatory to his royalty ever to see his subjects sitting in his presence, would have but a very diminutive idea of grandeur, which does not depend on distinctions of this kind. A king truly respectable, may freely dispense with this liberty, without risking the loss of any thing, any more than Augustus, Trajan or Marcus Aurelius.

chair, he spoke to him after this manner ; ‘ In the first place, Cinna, I desire you would hear me patiently ; do not interrupt me while I am speaking, after which I will give thee time and leisure to answer me. Thou knowest, Cinna, that having taken thee prisoner in the enemy’s camp, when thou not only didst bear arms against me, but was my enemy by birth, I saved thy life, gave thee all thy estate, and enabled thee to live so well, and so much at thy ease, that the victor even envied the condition of the vanquished. The sacerdotal office which thou madest suit to me for, I conferred upon thee, after having refused it to others whose ancestors always bore arms for me ; and yet, after having done so much to oblige thee, thou hast undertaken to kill me!’ Cinna crying out at this, that he was very far from harbouring so wicked a thought, Augustus stopped him short, by saying, ‘ Cinna, thou dost not keep thy promise ; thou didst assure me that I should not be interrupted ; yes, you did undertake to kill me at such a time and place, in such company, and in such a manner.’ At which words, seeing Cinna astonished and silent, not for having broke his promise to be silent, but from the sting of his conscience, ‘ What, continued Augustus, was your reason for doing this? Was it to be made emperor? Verily the public affairs are in a bad state, if I am the only man in the way of thy advancement to the empire. Thou art not so much as able to defend thy own family, and wast lately nonsuited in a cause by a meer libertine. What! will nothing avail thee but to attempt the ruin of Cæsar? I give up the cause, if there is none but me to obstruct thy hopes. Dost thou imagine that Paulus Fabius, the Cossæans and Servilians, and so many Patricians, not only noble by title, but such as honour their nobility by their virtue, will bear with thee?’ After a great deal more that he said to him, (for he talked to him above two whole hours) ‘ Now, go thy way, said he, I give thee that life, Cinna, as a traitor, and a parricide, which I gave thee heretofore as an enemy. Let friendship commence betwixt us from this day forwards ; let us try which of us two is the honestest man, I who have given thee thy life, or thou who hast received it.’ And thus he took his leave of him. Some time

time after he preferred him to the consular dignity, complaining that he had not the confidence to demand it, had a strong friendship for him, and made him sole heir to his estate. Now from the time of this accident, which befel Augustus in the fortieth year of his age, there was never any conspiracy or attempt formed against him, and he thereby reaped a just reward for his clemency; but it did not turn out so well for our prince, in the preceding story, for his lenity was not sufficient to secure him from falling into the snares of the like treason; so vain and frivolous a thing is human prudence, and in spite of all our counsels, projects and precautions, fortune is always the mistress of events.

We repute physicians fortunate, when they hit upon a lucky cure; as if their's was the only art that could not maintain its own ground, that its basis was too weak to support itself by its own strength, and as if no other art stood in need of the assistance of fortune in its operations. For my part, I have as good, or as bad an opinion of physick as you please, for, God be thanked, we hold no correspondence. I think differently from other men; for I always heartily despise it; and when I am sick, instead of entering into a composition with it, I begin yet more to detest and dread it; and when friends press me to take physick, I tell them to give me time, at least till I am restored to my health and strength, that I may be the better able to support the violence and danger of their position. I leave nature to its operation, and am prepossessed with an opinion, that it is sufficiently armed with teeth and talons to defend itself when attacked, and to maintain that contexture of which it abhors the dissolution; for I am afraid, that the endeavour to assist it when it grapples with the disease, would really give aid not to nature, but to its adversary, and that it would create new difficulties.

Now, I say, that fortune has a great share, not in physick only, but in several other more certain arts. The poetick fallies which transport and ravish their author out of himself, why should we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since the poet himself confesses they exceed his capacity, and acknowledges them to proceed from something else than himself, and has them no more in his

own

own power, than the orators say they have in their power those extraordinary motions and agitations that sometimes push them beyond their design?

So in painting, strokes shall sometimes slip from the hand of the painter, to surpassing both his fancy and skill, as to excite both his admiration and astonishment. Nay, fortune does yet more plainly demonstrate the share she has in all works of this kind, by the elegancies and beauties that appear in them, not only beyond the intention, but even without the knowledge of the artist himself. A judicious reader often finds out in another man's writings perfections different from what were either intended or perceived by the author, and gives them a richer construction and complexion.

And, as to military enterprizes, every one sees what a good share fortune has in them. Even in our counsels and deliberations there must certainly be a mixture of good and bad luck, for all our wisdom can do avails very little. The more acute and quick it is, the weaker it finds itself, and the more diffident it is of itself. I am of Sylla's opinion; and when I look more nicely into the most glorious exploit of war, I perceive, methinks, that the conductors of them make use of deliberation and counsel only for form-sake, leaving the best share of the enterprize to fortune, and, depending upon her aid, transgress at every turn the bounds of all consultation. There happen sometimes accidental alacrities and strange furies in their deliberations, which prompt them most commonly to take the most improbable course, and swell their courage beyond the bounds of reason. From hence it falls out, that many great commanders of old, to give a sanction to their rash resolutions, have told their soldiers, that they were induced thereto by some inspiration, omen, or prognostick.

Therefore, in this uncertainty and perplexity, owing to our incapacity to discern and chuse what is of the greatest advantage, by reason of the difficulties that are derived from the various accidents of things, I think, that tho' no other consideration should be our motive, the surest way would be to pitch upon that course which is most just and honourable; and, as the shortest way is not evident, to keep always in the direct path; forasmuch as

in the two instances I have just now mentioned, it is not to be doubted that it was more noble and generous in him who had received the injury to pardon it, than if he acted otherwise; and if the first was disappointed in it, he is not to be blamed for his good intention, it not being a clear point whether, if he had acted a contrary part, he would have escaped the issue to which he was doomed by his destiny, and have lost the reputation of such an act of humanity.

In history, there are many instances of persons under this impression of fear, by which most of them have been impelled, to obviate the conspiracies that were forming against them, by revenge and punishment, but I find very few to whom this remedy has been of service: witness many of the Roman emperors. Whoever finds himself in this danger, ought not to expect much either from his strength or his vigilance: for how difficult is it for a man to guard against an enemy who wears the countenance of the most officious friend we have, and to know the inclination and inward sentiments of those who are present with us? It is to very little purpose for a man to have a guard of foreigners, and to be always fenced about by files of men in arms, since whoever does not value his own life, will always be master of that of another man.

Moreover, that continual suspicion which makes a prince jealous of all mankind, must needs be a strange torment to him. Therefore it was that Dion, being warned that Callippus watched for opportunities to take away his life, never had the heart to enquire particularly into the matter, saying, he had rather die, than live in such miseries, to be upon his guard, not only against his enemies, but against his friends *. Alexander acted this part with more spirit and resolution by the effect, when, being advised by a letter from Parmenio, that Philip, his darling physician, was brib'd with money by Darius, to poison him, at the same time that he gave the very letter to Philip to read, swallowed the dose he had brought him †. Was not this a declaration of his resolution, that if his friends had a mind to dispatch him out of the world,

* Plutarch in the notable sayings of the ancient kings.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. iii. c. 6.

world, to give them free liberty to do it? This prince is the sovereign precedent of hazardous actions; but I do not know whether, in all his life, there be another passage that demonstrates more constancy than this, or any noble action of his that shines with so much lustre. They who preach up to princes such a circumspect diffidence, under colour of dictating for their security, do only preach to their ruin and dishonour. Nothing truly noble is atchieved without hazard. I know a person naturally of a very enterprising, heroick courage, whose good fortune is continually prevented by such persuasions as these; that he keep those only about him whom he knows to be his friends; that he hearken to no reconciliation with his old enemies; that he keep retired to himself, and not venture his person with hands stronger than his own, what promise soever may be made to him, or what prospect soever he may have of advantage. I know another, who has unexpectedly made his fortune by following quite contrary advice.

The courage of which men so greedily court the glory, is displayed, upon occasion, as magnificently in a doublet, as in a coat of mail; in a cabinet as in a camp; with the arm hanging down, as well as lifted up. Such tender and wary precaution is a mortal enemy to noble exploits. Scipio, in order to sound Syphax's intention, leaving his army, and abandoning Spain, not yet well settled in his new conquest, could pass over to Africa in two contemptible bottoms, to commit himself, in an enemy's country, to the power of a Barbarian king, to a faith unknown, without any obligation, without hostage, upon the single security of the greatness of his own courage, of his own fortune, and the promise of his elevated hopes. '*Habita fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat* *,' i. e. The confidence we repose in another, often procures a return of the like confidence. On the contrary, for a life of ambition and eclat, it is necessary to hold a stiff rein upon suspicion. Fear and diffidence invite and draw on injury. The most jealous of our kings (Lewis XI.) established his affairs chiefly by voluntarily trusting his enemies with his life and liberty, manifesting thereby his intire confidence in them,

them, to the end that they might repose the same in him. Cæsar only opposed the authority of his countenance, and the sharpness of his rebukes to his armed legions that mutinied against him; and he trusted so much to himself and his fortune, that he was not afraid to abandon and commit it to a seditious and rebellious army.

—*stetit aggere fulti*

Cespitis, intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri

Nil metuens *.

Upon a parapet of turf he stood,

His manly face with resolution shone;

And chill'd the mutineers inflamed blood,

Challenging fear from all by fearing none.

But it is true withal, this undaunted assurance cannot be represented to perfection, and to the life, but by such as are not affrighted by the apprehension of death, and the worst that can happen; for to offer a trembling resolution, which is ever doubtful and uncertain, for the service of our important reconciliation, is nothing to the purpose. It is an excellent way for a person to win the heart and good-will of another, to offer his service and trust to him, provided it be freely and unconstrained by necessity, and that he manifest a pure and entire confidence in him, and a countenance clear of the least cloud of suspicion. When I was a boy, I saw a gentleman, a commanding officer in a great city, who, on occasion of a popular commotion and fury, in order to suppress it in the bud, went out of a place where he was very secure, and committed himself to the mercy of the turbulent rabble; but it was ill for him that he did so, for he was there miserably killed. But, nevertheless, I do not think he was so much to blame in going out, as his memory is generally charged with, as for having chosen a method of submission and meekness, and for endeavouring to appease this storm, rather by being a follower than a leader, and by intreaty rather than remonstrance. And I am inclined to believe, that a graceful severity, with a soldier-like way of commanding, full of severity and confidence, suitable to his rank, and the dignity of his office, would have succeeded better with him, at least, he would have died with more honour and decency. There is nothing

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* Lucan, lib. 5. v. 316, &c.

so little to be expected from that many-headed monster, when thus stirred up, as humanity and good nature. It is much more capable of reverence and fear. I should also reproach him, that having taken a resolution, in my opinion, rather brave than rash, of throwing himself weak and naked into this tempestuous sea of madmen; he ought boldly to have stemmed the tide, and not have suffered himself to be carried away with it; whereas, when he began to see his danger near at hand, his nose happening to bleed, that easy smiling countenance which he had assumed was changed into one of fear, his voice and eyes shewing both amazement and repentance, and by endeavouring to steal away and secure his person, he did inflame them, and called them upon him.

A general review was once talked of, of certain forces under arms; (that being the most likely opportunity of secret revenge, so that there is no place where it can be exercised with more safety) and it was publick and notorious that it was not safe for some to come whose principal and necessary office it was to view them. A council was held, and several things proposed, as in a matter of difficulty, as also of weight and consequence. One was, that they should above all things avoid to give the least token that they had such a mistrust, and that the officers most in danger should come with erect and open countenances, and mingle themselves in the files, and that instead of sparing fire (to which the other opinions inclined most) they should solicit the captain to fire in platoons, as a salvo to the spectators, and not to be sparing of their powder. This was so pleasing to the suspected troops, that, from that time forwards, there was a mutual and useful confidence among them.

I think, the method which Julius Cæsar took was the best that can be followed. In the first place, he endeavoured to win the hearts of his very enemies by clemency, contenting himself, when any conspiracy was discovered to him, with the single declaration that he knew it before. This done, he took a noble resolution to expect, without solicitude or fear, whatever might be the event, abandoning and resigning himself to the care of the gods and fortune; for no doubt he was in this mind at the very instant he was kill'd.

A foreigner gave it out every where, that if the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius, would give a good sum of money, he could inform him of a method how he might be certain of discovering all conspiracies which his subjects might form against him. Dionysius, hearing of it, sent for him to teach him an art so necessary for his preservation: The person told him, that there was nothing more in the art, than that he should give him a (Roman) talent, and then boast that he had learnt a singular secret from him *. Dionysius approved of the contrivance, and ordered him 600 crowns. It was not likely that he should give so great a sum to a person unknown, but as a reward for a very useful discovery, the belief of which served to keep his enemies in awe. Princes, however, do very wisely to publish the advices they receive of practices against their lives, in order to create an opinion that they have good intelligence, and that nothing can be plotted against them, of which they have not some tidings. The duke of Athens did many ridiculous things in the establishment of his new tyranny over Florence; but the most remarkable was this, that having received the first intelligence of the conspiracies which the people were forming against him, by means of Mattheo di Moroso, their accomplice, he put him to death, in order to stifle the report, and that it might not be thought any man in the city disliked his government.

I remember to have formerly read a story of a certain Roman, a personage of dignity, who in his flight from the tyranny of the Triumvirate, escaped a thousand times from his pursuers by a thousand subtilties. It happened one day that a troop of horse, which was sent to take him, passed close by a brake in which he lay hid, and narrowly missed him. But he, considering the pain and hardships which he had already so long endured to escape the strict and continual search that was every where made for him, the little pleasure he could hope for in such a life, and how much better it was for him to die once for all, than to be perpetually in this dread, he that instant called them back, shewed them where he hid himself, and voluntarily surrendered himself to their cruelty, in order to rid both himself and them
of

* Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the ancient kings.

of any farther trouble. To call upon an enemy to dispatch one, seems a little too rash; yet I think, he did better to take that course, than to be continually shook with an ague, for which there was no other cure. But seeing that all the remedies which can be applied to such a case, are full of uneasiness and uncertainty, it is better to prepare with a good appearance for the work that may happen, and to be comforted with the consideration, that we are not certain that what we so much dread will come to pass.

C H A P. XXIV. Of Pedantry.

I Was often vexed, when I was a boy, to see a pedant always brought in as a coxcomb in the Italian comedies, and that the title of Master was in no greater esteem amongst us; for as I was put under their tuition, could I help having a tenderness for their reputation? I endeavoured indeed to excuse them from the natural disparity that is betwixt the vulgar, and persons of excellent and uncommon judgment and knowledge, soasmuch as they go a quite contrary way to one another: But in this I was nonplussed, when I found, that the men of the best sense were they who most heartily despised them, witness our famous poet Du Bellay.

Mais je bay par sur tout un sçavoir pedantesque.

But above all things I abominate pedantic learning. And they used to do so in former times; for Plutarch says, that the terms Grecian, and Scholar, were names of reproach and contempt among the Romans. Afterwards I found, by the experience of years, that they had abundant reason for it, and that * ‘magis magnos celericos non sunt magis magnos sapientes;’ i. e. That the greatest scholars are not the wisest men. But how it should come to pass, that a mind enriched with the knowledge of so many things, does not thereby become the more quick and lively, and that a gross and common understanding should find room, without improving itself, for the discourses and judgments of the most excellent genius the world ever produced, I am yet to seek.

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* A kind of proverb, which is only mentioned in this rough manner, to render the pretenders to learning the more ridiculous. You will find it in Rabelais, lib. i. cap. 29.

A young lady, one of the first of our princesses, said to me once, speaking of a certain person, that he admitted so many wild and strange notions, and such strong conceptions, that his brains must be crowded and pressed together into a less compass, to make room for any others. I should be ready to conclude, that as plants are drowned with too much moisture, and lamps with too much oil, so too much study and business has the same effect upon the operation of the mind; which being employed and embarrassed by a variety of matter, has no power to throw off the weight, which keeps it bowed, and, as it were, benumb'd: But it is quite otherwise; for the mind, the fuller it is, the more it expands itself: and, to look back to the old times, we see on the contrary, men very sufficient for the management of publick affairs, great captains, and great statesmen, who were withal men of great learning. And as to the philosophers, who were retired from all publick affairs, they have sometimes also been despised by the comical liberty of their time, their opinions and formalities, exposing them to ridicule. Would you make them judges of the merits of a law-suit, or of a man's actions? They are fully prepared for it, and straight begin to examine if there be life, if there be motion, if the man^{*} be any other than an ox; what is active and passive, and what sort of animals law and justice are. Do they speak either of a magistrate, or to him, it is with an irreverent and uncivil freedom. Do they hear a † prince or a king commended, they treat him, at best, but as an idle shepherd, who busies himself only about milking and shearing his flock. Do you esteem any man of the more consequence for being lord of 2000 acres of land ‡? they make a pish at it, being accustomed

* If Montaigne has copied this from Plato's Theætetes, p. 127. F. as it is plain by all which he has added immediately after, that he has taken it from that dialogue, he has grossly mistaken Plato's sentiment, who says here no more than this, that the philosopher is so ignorant of what his neighbour does, that he scarce knows whether he is a man, or some other animal; τὸν τοῦτον ὁ μὲν πλῆσιν καὶ ὁ γείτων λεγόμενος, ὃς οὐκ οἶσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος καὶ εἰ ἀνθρώπος ἔστιν, ἢ τι ἄλλο φέρεται.

† Plato's Theætetes, p. 128. A.

‡ Ibid. R. E.

ed to claim the whole world for their possession. Do you boast of your nobility, or being descended from seven rich ancestors? they look upon you with contempt, as men that have no notion of the universal image of nature, and that do not consider how many predecessors every one of us have had, rich, poor, kings, slaves, Greeks, and Barbarians. And tho' you were the fiftieth descendant from Hercules, they think you vain to set such a value on this, which is only a gift of fortune. Consequently the vulgar scorn'd them, as men ignorant both of the chief thing, and those that were common, and accused them both of presumption and ignorance.

But this Platonic picture does by no means resemble our pedants; for the philosophers were envied for thinking themselves better than the common sort of men, despising publick affairs and transactions, assuming a particular and inimitable manner of life, and for discoursing in bombast, and obsolete language. But the pedants are despised for being below the usual form, for being incapable of publick offices, and, for their low-life manners, resembling the vulgar, '*Odi homines, ignava opera, philosophica sententia* *; i. e. I hate the men who think like philosophers, but, at the same time are meer triflers. As for those same philosophers, I must needs say, that as they were great men in science, they were yet much greater in all their actions, as it is said of the Geometrician of Syracuse †, who being disturbed in his contemplation, in order to put some of his skill in practice for the defence of his country, suddenly set on foot certain terrible engines, which wrought effects beyond all human belief; yet, nevertheless, he himself despised his own handywork, thinking, that by playing the mechanick, he had debased the dignity of his art, of which he reckoned those his performances but trivial models, by way of experiment. So they sometimes, when they have been put upon the proof of action, have been seen to fly to so high a pitch, that it plainly appeared their heart and souls were elevated to a strange degree, while their minds were enriched with the knowledge of things. Nay, some,

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who

* Pacuvius apud Aul. Gellius, lib. xiii. c. 8.

† Archimedes, in Plutarch's life of Marcellus, ch. 6. of Amyot's translation.

who saw the reins of government seized by persons incapable of holding them, have avoided all share in the management of affairs. And he who asked Crates, how long he thought it necessary to philosophize, received for answer, 'As long as our armies are commanded by block-heads *'

Heraclitus resigned the † royalty to his brother; and the Ephesians reproaching him for spending his time in playing with boys before the temple, 'Is it not better,' said ‡ he, 'to do so than to sit at the helm of affairs with you?' Others, having their thoughts elevated above the world and fortune, have look'd upon the tribunals of justice, and even the thrones of kings, with an eye of contempt and scorn. Thus Empedocles refused the royalty which was offered to him by the Agrigentines §. Thales, once inveighing against the care and pains men took to grow rich, was compared to the fox, who said to the grapes which he could not come at, that they were sour; whereupon he had a mind, for the jest's sake, to shew them an experiment to the contrary; and after having prostituted his learning in the search of profit and gain, he set up a traffick ||, which in less than a year brought him so much wealth, that the most experienced in the business were scarce able, with all their industry and oeconomy, to rake so much together in their whole lives. What Aristotle reports of some, who termed Thales, Anaxagoras, and the like sort of men wise, but not prudent, for not taking due care of the main chance, tho' I do not well digest the difference of those epithets, this will not however serve as an excuse for my pedants; for to consider

* Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Crates, lib. vi. sect. 92.

† Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Heraclitus, lib. ix. sect. vi. By *Bacchelia* is to be understood, according to Menage, not royalty in the proper sense of the word, but a particular-office which was so siled at Ephesus, as well as at Athens and Rome, after their renunciation of a monarchical government.

‡ Ibidem, sect. 3. § Diogenes, in the life of Empedocles, lib. 8. sect. 63.

|| Cicero de Divinatione, lib. i. c. 49. says, that Thales, in order to shew, that it was possible, even for a philosopher, if he pleased, to get an estate, bought up all the olive trees in the Milesian fields before they were in bloom. See Diogenes Laertius in the life of Thales, lib. i. sect. 26.

sider the low and necessitous fortunes with which they are contented, we have rather reason to pronounce, that they are neither wise nor prudent.

But, to give up this first reason, I think it better to say, that this misfortune arises from their wrong method of applying themselves to the sciences, and that, after the manner in which we are instructed, it is no wonder if neither the scholars or the masters are a whit the more capable of business, tho' they are the more learned. In good truth, the care and expence our parents are at, have no other aim, but to furnish our heads with knowledge, but not a word of judgment and virtue. Cry out one that passes by, to our people, 'O! what a learned man is that!' and of another, 'O! what a good man is that!' they will not fail to turn their eyes, and pay their respects to the former. There should then be a third man to cry out, 'O! what blockheads are they!' Men are ready to ask, does he understand Greek or Latin? Is he a poet or prose writer? But whether he is the better or more discreet man, tho' it is the main question, is the last; for the enquiry should be, who has the best learning, not who has the most.

We only take pains to stuff the memory, and leave the understanding and conscience quite unfurnished. As the birds which fly abroad to forage for grain, bring it home in the beak, without taking it themselves, to feed their young, just so our pedants pick knowledge out of several authors, and hold it at their tongue's end, to spit out and distribute it abroad. It is strange to think how guilty I myself am of this very folly; for do I not the same thing almost throughout this whole treatise? I cull here and there out of several books such sentences as please me, not to keep them in my memory, (for I have none to retain them in) but to transplant them into this work, where, to say the truth, they are no more mine, than they were in the places from whence I took them.

We are, as I conceive, only skilled in the knowledge of the present, and not at all of what is past, or to come; but the worst of it is, the scholars and pupils of these pedants are no better nourished or improved by it, and it passes from one head to another for this purpose, only to make

make a shew of it in conversation, and story-telling, like those glittering counters, which are of no other use or service but to play or count a game with. 'Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi secum *;' i. e. They have learned to talk, to converse with others, but not with themselves. 'Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum †;' The business is not to talk, but to manage.

Nature, to shew that its conduct is not wild, does often, in nations which are the least cultivated by art, cause productions of genius such as are a match for the greatest efforts of art. As in relation to what I am now speaking of, the Gascon proverb derived from a reed pipe, has a delicate meaning, 'Bouha pro bouha, mas a re-muda lous dits qu'em;' i. e. You may blow your heart out, but if once you stir your fingers, it is all over. We can say, Cicero says thus; these were the morals of Plato; these the very words of Aristotle: But what do we say ourselves that is our own? What is it we do? What is our judgment? A parrot would say as much to the purpose as this.

This puts me in mind of that wealthy † Roman, who had taken care, tho' at a very great expence, to collect able men in every science whom he kept continually in his company, to the end, that if amongst his friends any topick of discourse should be started, they might supply his place, and be ready to prompt him, one with § a saying, another with a verse of Homer, &c. every one according to his talent; and he fancied this knowledge to be his own, because it was in the heads of those whom he retained about him; as they
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* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. c. 36. † Senec. epist. 108.

‡ Clavius Sabinus. He lived in the time of Seneca; who, besides what Montaigne here says of him, reports stories that are even more ridiculous of this rich impertinent, epist. 27.

§ His memory was so bad, that he every now and then forgot the names of Ulysses, Achilles, and Priam, tho' he had known them as well as we know our Pedagogues; yet he had a mind to be thought learned, and invented this compendious method, viz. he bought slaves at a great price, one who was master of Homer, another of Hesiod, and nine of lyric poetry, to whom he, every now and then, had recourse for verses, which in rehearsing he often slept in the middle of a verse, yet he thought he knew as much as any one in the house did. Seneca, *ibid*.

also do whose fund of learning lies in their sumptuous libraries. I know one, who, when I ask him a question, calls for a book to shew me the answer; and he would not even have the courage to tell me he has the piles, without having immediate recourse to his dictionary to find out the meaning of the words scab and fundament.

We take other mens opinions upon trust, and give ourselves no manner of trouble; whereas we should make them our own. In this we seem to be very like the man, who, wanting fire, went to his neighbour's house to fetch it *, and finding a very good one there, stayed to warm himself by it, but never remembered to carry any home with him. Of what service is it to us to have a bellyfull of meat, if it does not digest, if it does not change its form in our bodies, and if it does not nourish and strengthen us? Can we imagine that Lucullus, whose learning, without any manner of experience, made and formed him so great a commander, acquired it after our manner? We suffer ourselves to lean so much upon the arms of others, that our strength is of no use to us. Would I fortify myself against the fear of death, I do it at the expence of Seneca; would I extract consolation for myself or my friend, I borrow it from Cicero; whereas I might have found it myself, if I had been trained up in the exercise of my own reason. I do not fancy this acquiescence in second hand hearsay knowledge; for tho' we may be learned by the help of another's knowledge, we can never be wise but by our own wisdom.

Μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις ἔχ' αὐτῷ σοφός. † i. e.

Who in his own concern's not wise,

I that man's wisdom do despise.

Therefore, says Ennius, 'Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipsi sibi prodesse non quiret ‡;' i. e. Vain
is

* This comparison may be found at the end of Plutarch's treatise of Hearing: And from thence it is no doubt that Montaigne took it, because he expresses it almost in the very words of Amyot's translation.

† The words of Euripides, as Cicero tells us, epist. 15. to Cæsar lib. 13.

‡ Cicero de offic. lib. 3. c. 15.

is the wisdom of that sage who cannot profit himself by it.

—*fi cupidus, fi*

Vanus, et Euganeâ quantumvis vilior agnâ *. i. e.

If he is covetous, a liar, or effeminate.

‘Non enim paranda nobis solum, sed fruenda sapientia est †.’ i. e. For wisdom is not only to be acquired, but enjoyed.

Dionysius † laughed at the grammarians, who were so solicitous to know what were the miseries which Ulysses suffered, and do not know their own; at musicians, who are so exact in tuning their instruments, and never tune their manners; and at orators, who study to declare what is justice, but not to perform it. If our mind takes so wrong a bias, and if the judgment be so unsound, I should have liked it altogether as well, if my scholar had spent his time at tennis, for then the body would at least have been more lithsome. Do but observe him when he is come back from school, after he has spent fifteen or sixteen years there; nothing is so unfit for business. All that you find in him more than he had before he went thither, is, that his Latin and his Greek have rendered him only a greater, and a more conceited coxcomb than he was when he went from home. He ought to have returned with his head well furnished, whereas it is only puffed up, and inflated.

These sparks, as Plato says of the sophists, their cousins-german, are of all men those who promise to be the most useful to their fellow-creatures, and who alone, of all men, do only not mend what is committed to them, as a carpenter and a mason does, but make bad worse, and take pay for it to boot. If the rule which Protagoras proposed to his pupils was followed, either that they should give him his own demand, or take an oath in the temple, what value they set upon the advantage they had received from his discipline, and satisfy him

* Juv. Sat. 7. v. 19.

† Cicero de Finib. lib. 1. c. 1.

‡ In all the editions of Montaigne which I have seen, without excepting Mr. Cotton's translation, Dionysius is mentioned; yet the wise reflections which Montaigne here ascribes to Dionysius, were made by Diogenes the Cynic, as may be seen in that philosopher's life written by Diogenes Laertius, lib. 6. sect. 27, 28.

him accordingly for his trouble ; my pedagogues would be horridly frustrated, especially if they were to be judged by the testimony of my experience. In my vulgar Perigordin language such smatterers in learning are pleasantly called *Lettre-ferits*, as if one should say, they were Letter-marked, or had letters stamped on them by the stroke of a mallet ; and, in truth, they seem, for most part, to be sunk even below common sense. For you see the peasant and the cobbler go simply and honestly in their own way, speaking only of what they know and understand ; whereas these fellows are continually perplexing and intangling themselves, in order to set themselves off, and make a parade of that knowledge, which floats only on the superficies of the brain. They say a good thing sometimes, but let another apply it. They are wonderfully well acquainted with Galen, but not at all with the disease of the patient. They have stuffed your ears with the laws, but know nothing of the merits of the cause : They have the theory of every thing, but you must seek for others to put it in practice.

I have sat by when a friend of mine, at my own house, for sport's sake, has, with one of the fellows, counterfeited a jargon of unconnected gibberish, patched up of various pieces, without head or tail, saving that he interlarded certain terms, here and there, which were peculiar to the subject of their dispute ; by which means he amused the blockhead in debating the point, from morning to night, who thought he had always fully answered every objection : And yet this was a man of letters and reputation, and had a fine robe.

*Vos O patricius sanguis quos vivere par est
Occipiti cæco, posticæ occurrere sanne* * . i. e.

Ye nobles, whom flatterers easily blind,
Be guarded against a scar from behind.

Whoever narrowly pries into this kind of men, whose number is very extensive, will, as I have done, find that, for the most part, they neither understand themselves nor others, and that, tho' they have strong memories, their judgment is very shallow, unless where nature itself has given them another turn, as I observed in Adrianus Turnebus,

* *Perf. sat. 1. v. 61, 62.*

nebus, who, tho' he never made other profession than that of learning only, in which, in my opinion, he was the greatest man that has been these thousand years, yet had nothing pedantick about him, but the wear of his robe, and a certain external fashion that was uncourtly, which are things of no moment; and I hate our people who dislike the pedant worse than his impertinence, and take their measure of a man's understanding by the bow he makes, his very gesture, and even by his boots. For within this outside of his there was not a more illustrious soul upon earth. I have often, for the purpose, started subjects to him to which he was quite unaccustomed, wherein I found he had so clear an insight, so quick an apprehension, and so solid a judgment, that one would have thought he had never been practised in any thing but arms, and affairs of state. These endowments of nature have such beauty and vigour,

— *Quæis arte benigna,*

Et melior luto finxit præcordia Titan *. i. e.

The sun having of clay much more refin'd,

With more accuracy form'd their mind.

that they keep their ground in defiance of a bad education. But it is not enough that our education does not spoil us, it is necessary that it should alter us for the better.

There are some of our parliaments which, when they are to admit any officers, examine only into their learning; others also add the trial of their understanding, by asking their judgment of some law-case. The latter seem to me to proceed in the best method. And tho' both are absolutely necessary, and it is requisite that they should be defective in neither, yet, in truth, judgment is to be preferred to science, the former of which may make shift without the latter, but not the latter without the former: For, as the Greek verse says,

Ὡς εἶδεν ἡ μάθησις ἢ μὴ οὐκ ὡς ἴ. e.

Learning is nothing worth, if wit

And understanding be not join'd with it.

Would to God, that, for the sake of justice, our courts of judicature were as well furnished with understanding and conscience as they are with knowledge. 'Non vitæ

' fed

* Juv. sat. 14. v. 34, 35.

‘ sed scholæ dicimus,’ says Seneca * ; we do not study to live, but to dispute. Now learning is not to be made a meer appendix to the mind, but to be incorporated with it : It must not only be tinged with it, but thoroughly dy’d ; and if it does not change and meliorate its imperfect state, it were, without question, better to let it alone.

A little learning is a dangerous thing,
 Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring :
 For shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
 But drinking deeply sobers us again.

It is a dangerous weapon, and if in weak hands that know not how to use it, it will embarrass and hurt its master, ‘ Ut fuerit melius non didicisse † ;’ so that it would have been better not to have learned at all. This peradventure is the cause, that neither we nor divinity require much learning in women, and that Francis duke of Britany, son of John V. when, in talking of his marriage with Isabel, the daughter of Scotland, he was told, that she was homely bred, and without any manner of learning, he made answer, ‘ That he liked her the better for it ; and that a woman was learned enough, if she could distinguish betwixt her husband’s shirt, and his doublet.’

So that it is no such great wonder, as they make of it, that our ancestors had learning in no great esteem, and that, even to this day, it is but seldom to be met with in the privy councils of our kings ; and if this end of enriching ourselves by it (which is the only thing we propose to ourselves now a days, by the means of law, physick, pedantry, and even divinity itself) did not uphold its credit, you would no doubt see it in as despicable a state as ever. What pity then would it be if it neither instructed us to think well, nor to do well ? ‘ postquam docti prodierunt, boni desinunt ‡. Since the appearance of learned men, good men are become scarce. All other knowledge is detrimental to him who has not the science of becoming a good man.

But may not the reason I touched upon just now also proceed from hence, that our study in France having, as
 it

* Ep. 106. in fine.

† Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. 2. c. 4.

‡ Seneca, Epist. 95.

it were, no other view but profit, few of those who are formed by nature for offices rather of dignity than gain, apply themselves to learning, or for so little a while (being taken from their studies, before they have had a relish for them, to some profession which has nothing to do with books) that, generally speaking, there are none left to apply themselves wholly to study but people of mean education, who only study learning for a livelihood. And the minds of such people being by nature, and domestick education and example, of the basest alloy, make a wrong use of learning. For it is not for knowledge to furnish light to a dark soul, nor to make a blind man see. Its business is not to find a man eyes; but to clear them, and to regulate a man's steps, provided he have good feet and legs of his own. Knowledge is an excellent drug, but no drug has virtue enough to preserve itself from corruption and decay, if the vessel into which it is put be not sound and sweet. A man may have a clear sight who looks a squint, and consequently sees good, but does not follow it, and sees knowledge, but makes no use of it. Plato's principal institution in his republick, is to fit his subjects with employments suitable to their nature. Nature can do every thing, and does every thing. Cripples are not fit for exercises of the body, nor weak understandings for those of the mind. Philosophy is too sublime for degenerate and vulgar minds. When we see a shoemaker ill shod, we say it is no wonder. Thus, it seems, we often find, by experience, a physician worse doctor'd, a divine worse reform'd, and consequently a scholar of less sufficiency than other men. Aristo of Chios had anciently reason to say *, that philosophers did their auditors more harm than good, because most of them are not capable of receiving benefit by such instructions, on which they were too apt to put a bad interpretation; so that † *αὐτῶν* ex Aristippi, acerbos ex Zenonis Schola exire; i. e. that they went away debauchees from the school of Aristippus, and sour churls from that of Zeno.

In that excellent institution which Xenophon ascribes to the Persians, we find, that they taught their children

virtue,

* Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. c. 31. † Ibid.

virtue, as other nations instruct them in letters. Plato says, that the * eldest son in the royal succession was thus tutored. As soon as he was born, he was delivered, not to women, but to the eunuchs of the greatest authority about their kings for their virtue, whose charge it was to keep his body in health, and good plight, and after he came to seven years of age, to teach him to ride, and to go a hunting. When he attained to fourteen, they transferred him into the hands of four the wisest, the most just, the most temperate, and the most valiant men of the nation. The first instructed him in religion, the second taught him to be always honest, the third to be the master of his appetites, and the fourth to despise all danger.

It is a thing worthy of very great consideration, that in that excellent, and, in truth, for its perfection, prodigious form of civil regimen, proposed by *Lycurgus*, though solicitous of the education of children, as a thing of the greatest concern, and even in the very feat of the muses, he should make so little mention of learning, as if their generous youth, disdaining any other yoke but that of virtue, ought to be furnished only with such masters as should instruct in valour, prudence and justice, instead of being put under our masters of the sciences; an example which Plato has followed in his laws. The form of their discipline was, to propound questions to them upon the judgment of men and their actions; and if they commended or condemned either this or that person or fact, they were obliged to give their reason for so doing; by which means they at once sharpened their understanding, and became skilful in the law. Aftayges in Xenophon*, having demanded of Cyrus an account of his last lesson, he made this answer, viz. ‘ a tall boy
‘ in our school, having a cassock too short, took another,
‘ by force, from one of his companions who was not so
‘ tall, and gave him his own in exchange. Our master
‘ having made me judge of this dispute, I thought it
‘ best for both of them to keep the cassock he then had,
‘ for that each of them was better accommodated with
‘ the other’s cassock than with his own. But my master
‘ told me I had given wrong judgment; for I had only
‘ considered

* In the first Alcibiades, p. 32. † Xenophon’s *Cyropædia*, lib. 1. c. 3. sect. 14.

‘ considered the fitness of the garments, whereas I ought principally to have had regard to strict justice, which requires, that no one should be deprived of his property by force.’ And young Cyrus added, ‘ that he was lashed for it, as we are in our villages, for forgetting the first aorist of *τυπῶ*. My pedagogue must make me a fine oration, ‘ in genere demonstrativo’, before he can persuade me that his school is as good as that. They chose to shorten the way, and forasmuch as the sciences, when they are rightly pursued and applied, cannot but teach us prudence, fidelity and resolution; they thought fit to initiate their children in the knowledge of the effects, and to instruct them, not by hearsay, but by the proof of the action, in vigorously forming and moulding them, not only by words and precepts, but chiefly by works and examples, to the end that it might not only be a knowledge of the mind, but become constitutional and habitual, and not barely an acquisition, but a natural possession. Agesilaus being asked for the purpose, ‘ what he thought most proper for boys to learn?’ replied, ‘ what they ought to do when they come to be men.’ No wonder if such an institution produced such admirable effects.

It is said, they used to go to the other cities of Greece, to enquire out rhetoricians, painters, and musicians; but to Lacedæmon for legislators, magistrates, and generals of armies: at Athens they learn’d to speak well; at Lacedæmon to act well; at Athens to get clear out of a sophistical argument, and to unravel ensnaring syllogisms; at Lacedæmon to escape the baits of pleasure, and with a noble courage to withstand the menaces of fortune and death. The Athenians cudgelled their brains about words, the Lacedæmonians about things; at Athens there was an eternal babble of the tongue, at Lacedæmon a continual exercise of the mind: therefore it is no wonder, that, when Antipater demanded fifty of their children for hostages, they made answer, quite contrary to what we should do, that they would rather give him twice the number of full grown men, such a value did they set upon their children’s domestick education*. When Agesilaus

* Plutarch in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

laus courted Xenophon, to send his children to be bred up at Sparta, it was not that they should learn rhetorick there or logick, but to be instructed, he said, in the noblest of all sciences, viz. how to obey, and how to command *.

It is very merry to see Socrates, after his manner, rallying Hippias, when he tells him what a sum of money he had got by teaching school, especially in certain little villages of Sicily, but that at Sparta he did not get one penny. What idiots are they, said Socrates †, who know nothing of mensuration nor numeration, and make no account either of grammar or poetry, and only amuse themselves in studying the succession of kings, the settlement and declension of states, and the like kind of stuff ‡! And, after all, Socrates having made him, from one step to another, acknowledge the excellency of their form of publick administration, and the felicity and virtue of their private life, he leaves him to guess at what inference he draws from the inutility of his pedantick arts.

Examples have taught us, that in military affairs, and all others of that kind, the study of the sciences damps and enervates the courage of men rather than quickens and rouses it. The most potent empire, that appears to be at this day on the whole world, is that of the Turks, a people who have a great esteem for arms, and as hearty a contempt for literature. I find that Rome was more valiant before she grew so learned. The most warlike nations in our days are the most stupid, and the most ignorant, of which the Scythians, Parthians, and the great Tamerlane, may serve as a proof. When the Goths ravaged Greece, the only thing that preserved all the libraries from being burnt, was an opinion, that one of their body possessed them with, that it was absolutely the best to leave all that furniture entire in the enemy's hands, as it would tend to divert them from the exercise of arms, and incline them to a lazy and sedentary life. When our king Charles VIII. as it were without drawing his sword, saw himself possessed of the kingdom of Naples, and of a great part of Tuscany, the nobility about him

* Plutarch in the life of Agesilaus, c. 7. † Plato's Hippias Major, p. 96. ‡ Idem, p. 97.

him attributed this unexpected facility of conquest to this, that the princes and nobles of Italy studied more to render themselves ingenious and learned, than vigorous and warlike.

CHAP. XXV. *Of the education of children. To madame Diana de Foix, countess de Gursen.*

I Never yet saw that father who would not own his son, were he ever so crooked or scabby; not that he is insensible of his weakness, unless he be altogether intoxicated with that affection of his, but still he is his child. So, for my own part, I perceive more clearly than any body, that these essays of mine are but the idle whimsies of a man who only nibbled on the outward rind of the sciences in his nonage, and has only retained a vague and imperfect idea of them, a little smatch of every thing, and nothing thoroughly 'à la mode de Française.' For I know, in the general, that there is such a science as physick, a knowledge in the laws, four parts or branches of the mathematicks, and have a gross idea of what all these aim at: And, perhaps too, I know what the sciences pretend to in general, for the service of human life; but to dive farther than that, and to have bit my nails in the study of Aristotle, the monarch of all modern learning, or to have bent my study entirely to any one science, is what I never did, nor is there any one art, of which I can so much as draw the first lineaments; insomuch, that there is not a school-boy of the lower classes, but may presume to say he is a better scholar than I am, who have not ability sufficient to examine him in his first lesson: And if I am at any time forced upon it, I am constrained to put some general question to him, wide from the point, upon which I try his natural judgment, a lesson as much unknown to him, as his is to me.

I have not settled a correspondence with any books of solid learning but Plutarch and Seneca, and from them, like the Danaïdes, I am continually filling and pouring out; so that what I endeavour to make my own, is next akin to nothing. History is my favourite subject, or else poetry, which I am particularly fond of: For, as Cle-
anthes

anthes said, in the same manner as the voice strained thro' the narrow passage of a trumpet comes out stronger and shriller, just so, methinks, a sentence enforced by the numerous measures of poetry, is much more striking both to my ear and apprehension. As to the natural parts I have, of which this is a specimen, I find them to bow under the burden : My fancy and judgment do but grope in the dark, staggering, tripping and stumbling ; and when I have gone as far as I can, I am by no means satisfied ; I see more land still before me, but so wrapp'd in clouds, that my dim sight cannot distinguish what it is. And as I take upon me to treat indifferently of whatever comes into my head, and therein trust entirely to my own natural talents, if I happen, as I often do, to find in good authors those very topicks which I have attempted to write upon (as I did very lately in Plutarch's discourse of the strength of imagination) to see myself so weak and insipid, so dull and sleepy in comparison of those writers, I either pity or despise myself. Yet it is some pleasure to me to find that my opinions have frequently the honour to tally with their's, and that I follow in the same track, tho' at a great distance ; saying that they are in the right ; and I have this quality, which every one cannot boast of, of knowing the wide difference betwixt them and me. Nevertheless, I give vent to my own inventions, weak and flat as they are, without correcting or supplying their faults and defects, which I have discovered by this comparison.

A Man had need have a good strong back, to keep pace with these people. The indiscreet scriblers of our age, who into their worthless productions, foist whole paragraphs from the ancient authors, to give themselves a reputation, act quite contrary ; for the infinite dissimilitude of ornaments, renders the complexion of their own compositions, so pale, fallow and deformed, that they lose much more, than they gain by it. The philosophers Chrysippus and Epicurus, were in this respect of quite contrary humours ; Chrysippus did not only mix passages out of other authors in his books, but intire pieces ; and in one, the whole Medea of Euripides,

des, which gave Apollodorus occasion to say, * that were a man to pick out of his writings all that he had stolen from others, his paper would be a meer blank. † Epicurus on the contrary, in 300 volumes that he had left behind him, has not so much as one quotation. I happened the other day to light upon a French book, in which, after I had been dragged a good while over a number of words, so lifeless, so bald, and so void of all substance and meaning, that, in truth, they were only French words; after a long and tedious travel, I met at last with a piece that was rich, sublime, and elevated to the very clouds, of which, had I found the declivity easy, or the ascent a little more accessible, it had been excusable: But it was so steep a precipice, and so detached from the rest of the work, that, by the six first words, I found myself flying into the other world, and, from thence, discovered the bog from whence I came, so deep and low, that I had not the heart to descend down to it any more. If I were to stuff one of my discourses with such rich spoils as these, it would only the more expose the nakedness of the others. To find fault with others for what I am guilty of myself, appears to me no more inconsistent than to condemn, as I often do, the fault of others in myself. They are to be every where reprov'd, and ought to have no sanctuary allowed them: Yet I know how confidently I myself make bold at every turn, to set my stile on a level with what I steal from other authors, and to make it keep pace with them, not without the rash presumption, that I shall be able so to impose on the judgment of my readers ‡, that they will not be able to discern the difference; but this is as much owing to my application, as to my invention and capacity. Besides I do not wrestle with the whole body of those veteran heroes, nor with any one of them singly, it is only by gentle raps and little skirmishes that I engage them. I am not dogmatical but only by their mettle, and do not engage so far as I make shew of doing: Yet if I could hold them tack

* Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Chrysippus, lib. vii. sect. 181, 182. † Idem, in the life of Epicurus, lib. x. sect. 26.

‡ What Montaigne here says of himself is strictly true; of which a proof may be seen in the xxi. chapter of this first book: And, upon occasion, I have given others as palpable.

tack I were a brave fellow ; for I never assault them on the weakest side. For a man to cover himself (as I have seen some do) with another's armour, so as not to let his fingers ends be seen ; to carry on his design (as it is easy for scholars to do in a common affair) under old inventions patched up here and there, and then to endeavour to conceal the plagiarism, and to make it pass for his own, is in the first place injustice and meanness of spirit in such men, who having nothing of value of their own to recommend them, seek to graft a reputation upon the meer stock of others ; and, in the next place, it is ridiculous folly to content themselves, with the ignorant approbation of the vulgar, by such a pitiful fraud, and disparage themselves to men of understanding, the only persons whose praise is of any credit, who snuff with disdain, at such borrowed patch-work. For my own part, there is nothing I would not rather do than that. I only speak of others that I may more expressly speak of myself and inform myself what to do, or not do in this point ; neither in this do I in the least glance, at the professed composers of centos *, of which I have seen some very ingenious ones in my time ; particularly one, with the name of Capilupus †, besides others of more antiquity ‡. These are wits, who manifest themselves to be

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such,

* This is a term given to a piece of poetry composed of verses, or the ends of verses taken from one or more authors, to express any thing but the very thing that the verses signify in the authors, from whence they have been borrowed.

† Lelius Capilupus, a native of Mantua who flourished in the 16th century, was famous for compositions of this kind, as may be seen under his name in Bayle's dictionary, who says that the cento, which he wrote against the monks, is inimitable ; it is to be found at the end of the *Regnum Papisticum* of Neogeorgas. He wrote one also against the women, which Mr. Bayle also mentions as a very ingenious piece, but too satyrical. It was inserted in a collection intitled *Baudij amoris* printed at Leyden in 1638. This Lelius had a nephew named Julius Capilupus, who signalized himself by centos and even had a talent for it, superior to his uncle, if we may believe Possevin. *Poet. Select.* lib. 17. 24. But let Montaigne, Bayle and Possevin say what they will, it is a happiness for learning that compositions of this sort, the stile of which cannot but be full of expressions, harsh, improper and dogmatical, are neglected.

‡ As the centos of Ausonius composed wholly out of the verses of Virgil.

such, both by that, and compositions of other kinds, as Lipsius, in that learned and laborious system of his politics.

Be this as it will, and how trifling soever these essays of mine are, I will frankly own I never thought of concealing them, any more than my bald grizzled pate before them, where the graver has presented you not with a true face, but the resemblance of mine. For these also are but my own particular humours, and opinions; and I deliver them as no other than what I myself believe, and not for what ought to be believed by others. I have no aim in this writing, but to lay myself open, who perhaps shall be of another mind to-morrow, if I am altered by fresh instruction. I have no authority to be believed, neither do I desire it, being conscious that I have not been instructed well enough myself to teach another.

A friend of mine therefore having read the foregoing chapter the other day, told me, at my own house, that I should have enlarged a little more, on the education of children. Now, madame, if I have a talent equal to the task, I could not employ it better, than to devote it to the little gentleman, which is like, ere it is long, to be the happy issue of your body (you being, of too good blood, to begin otherwise than with a male) For having had so great a hand in your marriage treaty, I have a certain right and interest in the grandeur and prosperity of the issue that shall spring from it, besides that the long claim you have had to my service, does sufficiently oblige me to wish honour and happiness to all that you have a value for. But in truth, all that I mean by it is this: That the thing of the greatest difficulty and importance to human science is the nurture and education of children. As in agriculture, the methods to be taken before planting are, as well as at the planting itself, certain and easy, but after that which is planted comes to take root and shoot up, there is a great deal of trouble and difficulty in raising it, so it is with the human race *. The getting of children requires

* This which seems so natural a sentiment, is taken from one of Plato's dialogues, intituled Theages, where a father applying with his son to Socrates, to consult him to whom he should put his son
for

quires no great industry but after they are born, then begins the trouble, anxiety and care of training and bringing them up.

The display of their inclinations is so faint, and so obscure at this tender age, and what they seem to promise is so uncertain and fallacious, that it is extreme difficult to establish any solid judgment of them, as Cimon, Themistocles, and a thousand others, how far short they came of the expectation that was had of them. Cubs of bears, and puppy dogs, make a full discovery of their natural inclinations; but men, as soon as grown up, applying themselves to certain usages, opinions and laws, easily alter, or at least disguise their real inclinations. And yet it is difficult to force natural propensity; whence it comes to pass, that, for want of having chosen the right course, a man often takes very great pains, and spends great part of his life in training up children to things for which they are altogether unfit. In this difficulty, nevertheless, I am clearly of opinion, that they ought to be initiated into the best and most profitable studies, and that little heed ought to be given to those slight presages and prognostications which we happen to conceive of them in their tender years, on which Plato, in his republick seems, methinks, to lay too much stress.

As for learning, it is certainly, madame, a great ornament, and a qualification of wonderful service, especially to persons raised to such a degree of fortune as your ladyship. But it has not its proper use in persons of mean and low circumstances, it being more forward to assist in the carrying on of war, in the government of people, and in negotiating alliances with a foreign prince or nation, than to form a syllogism in logick, or to plead an appeal, or to prescribe a dose of physick. Wherefore, madame, believing you will not omit this so necessary an article in the education of your descendants, as you yourself have tasted the sweets of it, and are of learned extraction (for we still have the writings of the ancient counts de Foix, from whom both the count your husband and you are descended, and M. de Candale, your

H 2.

uncle,

for education, made the very same remark as Montaigne has in this place. See Plato in Theages, p. 88. printed at Franckfurt, 4to. 1602.

uncle, does every day oblige the world with others, who will extend the knowledge of this quality in your family to many succeeding ages) I will, upon this occasion, mention a particular fancy of my own, contrary to the common practice, and this is all that I am able to contribute for your ladyship's service in this particular.

The charge of the governor you shall appoint for your son, upon the choice of whom the success of his education intirely depends, consists of several branches, which I shall not touch upon, as being unable to add any thing valuable to them; and as to that on which I take upon me to give him my advice, he may follow it so far, and no farther than he thinks it probable or rational. For a boy of quality then, who covets learning not for gain (for so mean a view as that is unworthy of the grace and favour of the muses, besides that it has a foreign regard and dependance) nor so much for profit of others, as for his own, and to furnish and enrich himself within, having rather a desire to turn out a man of abilities than a meer scholar, I would advise his friends to be careful of chusing him a tutor who is a man of a good headpiece, rather than a perfect book-worm, tho' both judgment and learning are requisite, but manners and understanding rather than science; and that his tutor should perform this office in a new method.

The custom of tutors is, to be continually thundering in their pupils ears, as if they were pouring into a funnel, and our task is only to repeat what they have said to us before. I would have the tutor to correct this fault, and that, at the very first, he should, according to the capacity of the lad he has to manage, begin to put it to the test, by permitting his pupil himself to taste things, and of himself to chuse and distinguish them, sometimes opening the way for him, and sometimes leaving it open for him. What I mean is, that he should not invent and speak all himself, but that he should also hear his pupil speak in turn. Socrates, and afterwards Arcefilaus, made their scholars speak first, and then they spoke to them; '*Obest plerumque iis qui discere volunt, autoritas eorum qui docent* *; i. e. The authority of those who teach, is very often a detriment

to

* Cicero de Nat. Deorum, lib. i. c. 5.

to those who desire to learn. It is proper that he should put him upon a trot, like a young horse, before him, that he may judge of his capacity, and how much he is to abate of his own pace, to accommodate himself to that of the other. For want of this due proportion we spoil all; and to know how to chuse, and to keep within the exact measure, is one of the hardest tasks that I know. A man of a sublime genius, and strong parts, knows how, and when to form, indulge or condescend to these puerile motions, and to guide them. I walk firmer and more secure up hill than down; and such as, according to our common way of teaching, undertake with one and the same lesson, and the same method of instruction, to manage several geniuses of such different sizes and capacities, no wonder if in a multitude of children there are, scarce two or three to be met with, who are the better for their discipline. The tutor should not only examine him as to the words of his lesson, but as to their meaning and import; and should judge of the improvement he has made in his learning, not by the testimony of his memory, but by that of his conduct. Let him exhibit his lesson in a hundred views, and accommodate it to as many different subjects, in order to see if he yet rightly comprehend it, and is master of it, forming his progress by the model of those admirable institutions in the dialogues of Plato. It is a sign of crudity and indigestion to disgorge any thing in the same form it was swallowed, and the stomach has not performed its office, if it has not altered the figure and shape of what was committed to it for concoction. So our minds take things upon trust, while they are bound and constrained to the appetites of other men's fancies, enslaved and led captive under the authority of others instructions. We have been so subjected to the trammel, that we have no free pace of our own, our vigour and liberty are extinct, '*Nunquam tutelæ suæ fiunt **;' i. e. they are ever in wardship, and never enjoy their own. I had a private interview at Pisa with an honest man, but so great an Aristotelian, that his general thesis was, 'That the touchstone and standard of all solid imaginations, and of all truths, was their conformity to the doctrine of Ari-

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* *Stotle*;* Seneca, *epist.* 33.

‘stotle; that all besides was nothing, but vain and chimerical, for that he had seen all, and said all.’ This position of his, by being interpreted in too free and injurious a sense, brought and kept him a long time in great danger of the inquisition at Rome. Let the tutor make his pupil thoroughly sift every thing he reads, and lodge nothing in his fancy upon meer authority and upon trust. Let the principles of Aristotle be no more principles to him than those of the Stoicks or Epicureans: only let this diversity of opinions be laid before him, he will himself chuse, if he be able, if not, he will remain in doubt.

Cbe non menche saper dubiar m’ aggrada *. i. e.

There is sometimes a merit in doubting, as well as in knowing.

For if he embrace the opinions of Xenophon and Plato, by his own discourse, they will be no longer their’s, but his. He that follows another, follows nothing, finds nothing, nay, does not seek for any thing. ‘Non sumus sub rege, sibi quisque se vindicet †;’ i. e. We are not under kingly government, let every man be at his own disposal. Let him at least know that he knows. It will be necessary that he imbibe their juices, but not that he should learn their maxims; and no matter if he forget from whence he derived them, provided he knows how to appropriate them to his own use. Truth and reason are common to all men, and are no more his who first declared them, than his who declared them afterward. It is no more according to Plato than according to me, since both he and I understand and perceive in the same manner. Bees suck the flowers here and there where they find them, but make their honey afterwards, which is all and purely their own, and no longer thyme and marjoram. So will the pupil transform and blend the several fragments he borrowed from others, in order to compile a work that shall be altogether his own; that is to say, his judgment, his instruction, his labour and study are to be wholly employed in forming such a work. He is not obliged to discover the sources from whence he had the least assistance, but only to produce what he himself has composed. Men that live upon pillage and mortgages, make
a shew

* Dante inferno, canto 11. v. 93.

† Senec. ep. 33.

a shew of their buildings, and their purchases, but do not discover how and where they had the money. You do not see the fees taken by a member of the parliament (of Paris) but you see the alliances with which he has strengthened his family, and the honours he has obtained for his children. No man accounts to the publick for his revenue, but every one publishes his purchases.

The advantage of our study is to become better and wiser. It is (said * Epicharmus) the understanding that sees and hears; it is the understanding that turns every thing to advantage, that orders every thing, and that acts, rules, and reigns. All other things are blind, deaf and lifeless. But certainly we render it timorous and cowardly, in not allowing it the liberty to do any thing of itself. Who ever asked his pupil, what he thought of rhetorick and grammar, or of such and such a sentence of Cicero! They are stuck full feathered into our memory like oracles, of which the letters and the syllables are of the substance of the thing. To know by rote, is no knowledge; it is only a retention of what is intrusted to the memory. That which a man truly knows, may be disposed of without regard to the author, or reference to the book from whence he had it. A stock of meer bookish learning is a sad stock indeed! I grant that it may serve for an ornament, but not for a foundation, according to the opinion of Plato, who says, That true philosophy is compounded of constancy, faith and sincerity, and that the other sciences, that are directed to other views, are only counterfeits. I could wish that Paluel or Pompey, those famous dancing-masters of my time, could have taught us to cut capers by only seeing them do it, without ever stirring from our seats, as these men pretend to improve our understanding, without exercising it; or that we had learned to ride, handle a pike, touch a lute, or sing, without the trouble of practice, as these pretend to make us think, and speak well, without exercising either our

H 4

judgment

* It is the general opinion of the learned, that Epicharmus had this passage in a book which he wrote upon the nature of things, of which there are only some fragments left. We find it also in the Stromates of Clemens Alexandrin. lib. 2. in Plutarch de Solertia Animalium, p. 961. printed at Paris in 1623, and in other books.

judgment or voice. Now, while we are learning, whatsoever presents itself before us, is a book sufficient; the unluckiness of a page, the blunder of a footman, or table talk, are so many new subjects.

For this reason, an acquaintance with the world, and visiting foreign countries, is of wonderful service, not to bring back, as most of our noblesse do, an account of how many paces Santa Rotunda is in compass, or of the richness of Signiora Livia's linen drawers; or, as some others, how much Nero's face in a statue, in such an old ruin, is longer or broader than that stamped on some medal; but to be able chiefly to give an account of the humours and customs of those nations which they have visited, and that we may polish our wits by rubbing them upon those of others.

I would have a lad sent abroad very young, and (principally, in order to kill two birds with one stone) into those neighbouring nations whose language is most different from our own, and to which, if it be not formed betimes, the tongue cannot bend. It is also an opinion universally received, 'That a child should not be brought up in his mother's lap.' The natural affection of parents makes even the discreetest of them all so oversond, that they cannot find in their hearts either to chastise them for their faults, nor can they bear to see them suffer hardships and hazards, which they ought to be brought up in. They could not endure to see them come home from their exercises all in dust and sweat, to drink cold water when they are hot, nor to see them mount an unruly horse, or to fight with sword and pistol; and yet there is no remedy, for it is certain, that whoever hopes to make a lad turn out a brave man, must by no means spare him in his youth, and must often transgress the rules of physick.

Vitamque sub dio, & trepidis agit

In rebus *. i. e.

He must sharp cold and scorching heat despise,
Defying danger where most danger lies.

Neither is it enough to inspire him with courage, but care must be taken also to give him strength of muscles. The soul will be too much oppressed, if not seconded by the body, and would have too hard a task to discharge

two

* Horat. lib. iii. ode 2. v. 5, 6.

two offices alone. I know, to my sorrow, how much mine groans under the burden, being accommodated with a body so tender and delicate, as to bear upon it too hard, and often perceive in my reading, that our masters, in their writings, make examples pass for those of magnanimity and courage, which they should rather ascribe to the thickness of the skin, and the hardness of the bones; for I have seen men, women, and children so formed by nature, that they could bear a bastinadoing, better than I could a fillip of a finger; and that, when they were soundly drubbed, would neither cry out, nor wince. Thus, when wrestlers imitate the philosophers in patience, it is owing rather to their strong sinews, than to their stout hearts. Now to be inured to undergo labour, is to be accustomed to endure grief. ‘*Labor callum obducit dolori* *;’ i. e. Labour hardens us to bear grief, by making it callous. A boy is to be broke to the toil by severity of exercises, in order to fit him for bearing the pain and smart of dislocations, cholicks, causticks, and even of imprisonment and torture; for it may be his misfortune to be exposed even to the worst of these, which, according as the times are, may be the lot of the good as well as of the bad. Of this we are a proof. Whoever fights against the laws, threatens all honest men with the lash and halter. And, moreover, by the young man’s being kept at home, the authority of his governor over him, which ought to be sovereign, is interrupted and checked by the presence of the parents. Add to this, that the respect paid him by the family, and his consideration of the greatness he is heir to, are, in my opinion, no small inconveniencies at that age.

While we thus learn to converse with mankind, I have often observed this vice, that, instead of taking due hints from others, we only make it our business to lay ourselves open to them, and are at more pains to exhibit our own stock, than to lay in new. Silence and modesty are very advantageous qualities in conversation. The lad therefore should be taught not to be too profuse of the talent which he has acquired, and not to take exceptions at every silly story that is told in his hearing; for it is rudeness to carp at every thing that is not agree-

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able

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. c. 15.

able to our taste. Let him think it sufficient to conceal himself, and not seem to reproach another for not doing that which he refuses to do himself, nor act counter to the common customs. ‘*Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia **.’ Let him be wise without ostentation, or contracting envy. Let him avoid that unpolite mimicking of authority, and that puerile ambition of appearing more refined, to be thought otherwise than he really is, and as if reproofs and interruptions, tho’ so disagreeable, were not to be omitted, with a view of deriving from thence some singular reputation. As it is the sole prerogative of great poets to make use of the ‘*poetica licentia*,’ so it is intolerable that any but sublime and celebrated geniuses should be privileged above the authority of custom. ‘*Si quid Socrates, & Aristippus contra morem, & consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitratur licere : magis enim illi, & divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequuntur †.*’ i. e. If Socrates and Aristippus transgressed the rules of custom, let him not imagine that he may take the same liberty, for their great and sublime virtues rendered that sort of privilege excusable in them. He should be taught never to enter into conversation or controversy, but where he meets with an antagonist worthy of contending with ; and, even with such, not to make use of all the sophistry that may be of service to him, but only such turns as may be of most use to him upon the occasion. Let him be charged to be nice in the choice of his arguments, to abominate impertinence, and consequently to affect conciseness. Above all, let him be instructed to acquiesce, and submit to truth, as soon as ever he shall be convinced of it, whether by his opponents arguments, or upon better consideration of his own ; for he should never be preferred to the chair for muttering a set form of words, nor engage in any cause which he does not approve ; nor yet in arguing an occupation, where the liberty of revival and recantation are to be sold meerly for ready money. ‘*Neque ut omnia, quæ præscripta & imperata sint, defendat, necessitate ulla cogitur ‡.*’ i. e. Neither is he obliged, by any
 fort

* Seneca. epist. 103.
 Acad. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 3.

† Cic. de offic. lib. i. c. 41.

‡ Cic.

fort of necessity, to defend every thing that is prescribed or enjoined to him.

If his governor be of my humour, he will form the will of his pupil to be a very loyal subject to his prince, very affectionate to his person, and very courageous in quarrel; but, withal, he will damp any ambition he may have to attach himself to his service by any other engagement than a publick duty. For besides many other inconveniencies that are injurious to our liberty, a man's judgment being bribed and prepossessed by these particular obligations, is either divided and cramped, or is stained with indiscretion and ingratitude. A man that is a perfect courtier, can neither have the power nor the will to speak and think otherwise than favourably of a master who, out of so many thousands of his subjects, has singled him to maintain and prefer with his own hands. This favour, and the benefit flowing from it, must needs, and not without some reason, spoil his freedom of speaking, and cast a milt before his eyes: And we commonly find the language of such people, quite different from the language of other people of the same nation, and that it does not deserve much credit, when it treats of affairs relating to the court, and the prince.

Let his conscience and his virtue be conspicuous in his speaking, and have reason only for their guide. Make him understand that his own confession of any mistake, that he shall discover in what he says, tho' none perceive it but himself, is an effect of judgment and sincerity, which are the principal qualifications that he aims at: That obitnacy and wrangling are common qualities, which are most to be discovered in sordid souls. That to recollect and to correct himself, and to give up a bad cause in the warmth of his dispute, are great and uncommon philosophical qualities.

He must be advised when he is in company, to have his eye in every corner of the room; for I find that the chief seats, are commonly taken by men of the least capacity, and that the greatest fortunes are not always accompanied with abilities. I have been present where while those at the upper end of a table, have been admiring the beauty of the tapestry, or commending the
flavour

flavour of the sack, they have lost many fine things, said at the lower end of it. Let him list every man's talent: from a herdsman, a mason, or a passenger, a man may pick out something of what every one deals in, to treasure in his memory; and even the folly and weakness of others, will contribute to his instruction. By a close observation of the graces and fashions of all he sees, he will create to himself an emulation of the good, and contempt of bad men.

Let an honest curiosity, be suggested to his fancy of being inquisitive after every thing; and whatever is rare and singular in his neighbourhood, let him see it; be it a structure, a fountain, or a remarkable man, the field of a battle fought in ancient days, the expedition of Cæsar or Charlemain.

*Quæ tellus sit lenta gelu, quæ putris ab æstu,
Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ferat* *. i. e.

What lands are frozen, what are parch'd and dry,
And what wind serves direct for Italy.

Let him enquire into the manners, revenues, and alliances of princes. Things that are very pleasant to learn, and as useful to know. In this acquaintance with mankind, I chiefly include those, who live only in historical memoirs. He will by the help of such histories, get acquainted with the great geniuses of the best ages. It is a vain study, I confess, for those who do not apply closely to it, but those who do, it is a study of inestimable benefit, and the only one as Plato reports, which the Lacedæmonians reserved to themselves. What profit will not the pupil gain in this respect, by reading the lives of Plutarch? But let his governor remember what is the true end of his lessons, and that he do not so much imprint in his pupil's memory, the date of the ruin of Carthage, as the manners of Hannibal and Scipio, nor so much what place Marcellus died at, as why, it was unworthy of his duty, that he should die there. Let him not take so much pains, to teach him the narrative part of the histories, as to form his judgment of them, which in my opinion, is the thing that we apply ourselves to, with the most differing measures. I have read an hundred things in Titus Livy, that have escaped the observation of others,
and

* Propert. lib. 4. Eleg. 5. v. 39, 40.

and Plutarch, has read a hundred more there, besides what I was able to discover, or than peradventure that author ever inserted in his book. To some it is merely a grammar-study, to others, the very anatomy of philosophy; by which the most abstruse parts of human nature, are penetrated into. There are, in Plutarch, many long discourses well worth attending to, for in my opinion, he is the greatest master in that kind of writing; but there are a thousand particulars, which he has only glanced upon, where he only points with his fingers, which way we may go if we please; and he contents himself sometimes, with only giving a hint, in the most delicate part of his discourses, from whence we are to pluck out, what is worthy of the publick attention, as for example; where he * says, 'That the inhabitants of Asia came to be vassals to one man,' only because they were not able to pronounce the single syllable, No. Which saying of his, gave matter and occasion to Boetius † to write this tract of voluntary servitude, where he makes a whole discourse in his examination, of a trivial action of a man's life, or in his inquiry into a word that does not seem of importance enough to deserve it. It is a pity that men of understanding, should so much affect brevity. No doubt that it is some advantage to their reputation, but we are losers by it. Plutarch had rather we should applaud his judgment, than his knowledge, and chose rather to leave us with an appetite, than a surfeit. He knew that too much might be said even on good subjects, and that Alexander

* In his treatise of false modesty, ch. 7 of Amyot's translation.

† This was Montaigne's friend, of whom I shall have occasion to say more elsewhere. His name was Stephen Boetius, and he composed that book of voluntary servitude, which is here mentioned by Montaigne, and of which we shall find him discoursing more particularly in the 27th chap. of this book, under the article of friendship. One thing very surprizing is, that in all the editions which I have consulted, instead of Boetius we read Bœotia a country of Greece, and that in all those which have short marginal lemmas of what is contained in the pages, we are told upon account of this passage in Plutarch, that this country of Greece voluntarily submitted to slavery; a fatal accident, which care has been taken to point out in the margin, by these words, which are by no means equivocal. 'The voluntary slavery of the Bœotians.' Thus a very material confusion, has arisen from a small error in typography.

drides juttly reproached him, who made very pertinent, but too long speeches to the Ephori, by saying, * “ O “ stranger ! thou speakest what thou oughtest to say, “ as to the matter of it, but not in the due manner.” Such as have but little flesh on their bones, stuff themselves out with clothes, so they who have a scanty subject to treat of, swell it out with words.

The human understanding, is wonderfully enlightened by conversing with the world ; for we are of ourselves stupid, and short sighted. One asking Socrates of what country he was, he did not make answer, of Athens, but, of the world †. He who had the richest, and the most extensive imagination, was fond of calling the whole world his country, and extended his acquaintance, society and friendship to all mankind, not as we do, who look no farther than the ground we stand on. When the vines of the village where I live, are nipped with the frost, our priest immediately infers, that the wrath of God is kindled against the human race, and judges, that the canibals have already got the pip. To see our civil wars, who is there that does not cry out, That the machine of the world is turned topsyturvy, and that the day of judgment is just at hand, without considering that many worse things have happened, and that for all this, people are very joyous in ten thousand other parts of this earth. For my part, considering the licentiousness and impunity of the times, I admire there is no more mischief done. To him who feels the hail-stones patter about his ears, the whole hemisphere appears to be in a storm and tempest ; like the ridiculous Savoyard, who said very gravely, that, if that simple king of France could have managed his fortune well, he might in time, have been steward of the household to his duke. The fellow in his shallow imagination, could not conceive there could be any grandeur, superior to that of his master. In truth, we are all of us insensibly in this error, an error of no small consequence and prejudice. But whoever represents to himself, as in a picture, that great image of our mother nature, pourtrayed in her full majesty,

* Plutarch in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

† Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. 5. c. 37. and Plutarch in his discourse on banishment, c. 4.

jesty, whoever reads in her face so general and constant a variety, whoever observes himself in that figure, and not himself only, but a whole kingdom no bigger than the least point made by a pencil in comparison of the whole, that man alone estimates things, according to their true grandeur.

This great world, which some do not scruple to multiply as several species under one genus, is the mirror in which we ought to view ourselves, in order to discover the true bias. In short, I would have this to be the book for my scholar to study; for so many humours, sects, judgments, opinions, laws and customs, teach us to judge solidly of our own, and inform our understanding how to discover its imperfection and natural infirmity, which is a lesson of no little importance. So many turns and revolutions of state, and the fortune of the publick, will teach us to make no great wonder at our own. So many great names, so many victories and conquests buried in oblivion, render our hopes ridiculous of eternizing our fame, by the taking of half a score light horse men, and a paltry turret, which had never been heard of, if it had not been demolished. The pride and arrogance of so many foreign pomps and ceremonies, the conceited majesty of so many courts, and so much grandeur, inure and strengthen our sight to behold the lustre of our own, without dazzling our eyes. So many millions of men buried before us, encourage us not to fear the going to join such good company in the other world; and so of every thing else. Pythagoras used to say *, That our life makes a retreat to the great and populous assemblies of the Olympick games, wherein some exercise the body in order to acquire the glory of winning the prize, and others carry merchandize to them to sell for profit. There are some (and those none of the worst of them) who propose no other advantage, than only to look on, and consider, how and why every thing is done; and to be spectators of the lives of other men, in order thereby to judge and regulate their own.

To examples might properly be adapted all the most profitable discourses of philosophy, by which all human

actions

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. c. 3.

actions ought to be regulated and directed. He should be instructed

— *Quid fas optare, quid asper
Utile nummus habet, patriæ cbarisque propinquis
Quantum elargiri deceat, quem te Deus esse
Jussit, Et humana qua parte locatus es in re **,
Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur †.
What man may wish, what's money's proper use,
What are our country's, and our neighbour's dues ;
What God commands an honest man to be,
And here on earth to know in what degree
God has him plac'd, and what we are, and why
He gave us being and humanity.

what knowledge is, and what it is to be ignorant ; what ought to be the aim of study ; what valour, temperance and justice are ; the difference betwixt ambition and avarice, servitude and subjection, licentiousness and liberty ; the marks whereby to know what is true and solid contentment ; how far death, sorrow and disgrace may be dreaded.

Et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem ‡. i. e.
And which way every one may know
Labour to avoid or undergo.

By what springs we move, and the reason of our various inclinations. For, methinks, the first lessons with which the youth's understanding ought to be seasoned, should be such as regulate his manners and his sense, which will instruct him to know himself, and how to live well, and die well. Among the liberal sciences, let us begin with that which makes us free § ; tho' they all conduce, in some degree, to the instruction and use of life, as all other things also do in some respect or other ; but let us chuse that which directly and professedly serves to that end. If we are once able to restrain the appurtenances of life within their just and natural limits, we should find that the best part of the sciences which are in use, are useless to us ; and that, even in those that are of use to us, there are many very unnecessary breadths and depths which we were

* Pers. Sat. iii. v. 69. † Montaigne has put this verse last, which in Persius goes before the others, and is the 67th.

‡ Virg. *Æneid.* lib. iii. v. 459. § 'Unum studium
'verè liberale est quod liberum facit.' Seneca, *epist.* 88.

were better to let alone, and, according to the direction of Socrates *, limit the course of our studies to those things which are of real advantage.

—*Sapere aude!*

*Incipe vivendi qui recte prorogat horam,
Rusticus expectat dum defuait amnis, at ille
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum* †. i. e.

—Dare to be wise; and now

Begin. The man who has it in his power
To practise virtue, and protracts the hour,
Waits, like the clown, to see the brook run low,
Which careless flows, and will for ever flow.

It is a great folly to teach our children

*Quid moveant Pisces, animosaque signa Leonis,
Lotus & Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua* ‡. i. e.

What influence Pisces, or fierce Leo have,

Or Capricorn in the Hesperian wave.

the knowledge of the stars, and the motion of the 8th sphere before their own.

Τί πλεῖστα δὲ σοι καὶ μοί

Τί δ' ἀστράσι βούτιω §.

To me what are Bootes, or the seven stars?

They enter not my thoughts, much less augment my cares.

Anaximenes said, in a letter to Pythagoras, ‘ Why should I trouble myself in searching for the secrets of the stars, having death or slavery continually before my eyes?’ For the king of Persia was at that time preparing for a war against his country. In like manner every one ought to say, ‘ Being assaulted, as I am by ambition, avarice, temerity and superstition, and having within me, so many other enemies of life, shall I trouble myself about the revolutions in the world?’

After

* Diogenes Laertius in the life of Socrates, lib. 2. sect. 21. ‘ Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit à cælo & coegit de vita & moribus rebusque bonis & malis quærere.’ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. c. 4. i. e. Socrates first called down philosophy from the heavens, and made life and manners, and good and evil the objects of its enquiry.

† Hor. lib. i. epist. 2. v. 40. to 43. ‡ Propert. lib. iv. eleg. 1. v. 85, 86. § Anacreon, ode xvii. v. 10. & 11.

After he has been instructed in what will make him wiser and better, he may be then entertained with a view of logick, natural philosophy, geometry, rhetorick, and when his judgment is formed what science to chuse, he will soon go thro' it. The way of instructing him ought to be sometimes by discourse, and at other times by reading. Sometimes his governor should put the author himself, which he shall think most proper for him, into his hands, and sometimes give him the marrow and substance of his treatise rightly prepared for his more easy digestion : And if himself be not conversant enough in books, to turn the many fine discourses they contain, in order to accomplish his aim, some man of learning may be associated with the governor, who, when occasion requires, may supply him with the stores that shall be necessary for him to distribute and dispense to his pupil. And who can doubt whether this way of teaching is more easy and natural than that of Gazæ, in which the precepts are so harsh and intricate, and the terms so empty and unmeaning, that there is no hold to be taken of them, nothing to rouse the attention, whereas here the mind has somewhat to taste and feed upon. This fruit therefore is without comparison the best, and will be the soonest ripe.

It is a thousand pities that things are come to such a pass in this age, that philosophy, even by men of understanding, is looked upon as a vain and fantastical name, a thing of no use and value, either in opinion or effect ; and I think that sophistry is the cause of it all, by possessing its avenues. It is very wrong to represent it to youth as a thing inaccessible, and with such a frowning, grim, and terrible aspect. Who is it has put this pale and hideous mask upon it ? There is nothing more gay, airy, and frolicksome, nay, I had almost said, more wanton. It preaches nothing but feasting and jollity. A melancholy, thoughtful countenance is a sign that it does not reside there. Demetrius, the grammarian, finding a knot of philosophers sitting together in the temple of Delphos, said to them, ‘ * Either I am mistaken, or by your cheerful and pleasant countenances, you are engaged in no very deep discourse.’

To

* Plutarch of oracles that had ceased, ch. 5.

To which one of them, Heracleon, the magician, replied,
 ‘ It is for such as puzzle themselves in seeking whether
 ‘ the future tense of the Verb Βαλλω, has a double λ,
 ‘ or that hunt after the derivation of the comparatives
 ‘ Χείριον, Βίβλιον, and the superlatives Χείριστον, Βέλτιστον,
 ‘ to knit their brows whilst discoursing of their science ;
 ‘ but as to philosophical discourses, they always divert
 ‘ and cheer up those who attend to them, and never
 ‘ make them four or sad.

*Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in ægro
 Corpore, deprendas & gaudia, sumit utrumque
 Inde habitum facies *. i. e.*

When we are touch’d with some important ill,
 How vainly silence would our grief conceal !
 Not joy, nor sorrow, can be hid by art,
 Our foreheads blab the secrets of our heart.

The mind of a philosopher is in such a sound state, that it will also contribute to the health of the body. Philosophy makes its ease and tranquillity shine so as to be discerned from without ; it forms the external behaviour according to its own mould, and consequently arms the person who entertains it with a modest assurance, a brisk, active deportment, and a contented, debonaire countenance. A constant chearfulness is the surest sign of wisdom, whose state is like that of things in the regions above the moon, always serene. It is Baraco and Baralipton that render their disciples so dirty and smoaky. It is not philosophy, of which they know nothing at all, but by hearsay. It is this that undertakes to calm the tempests of the soul, and to make hunger and thirst smile, and this it does not by certain imaginary Epicycles, but by natural and palpable arguments.

It has virtue for its aim, which is not, as the schoolmen say, situate upon the summit of a steep, rugged, and inaccessible hill ; for such as have approached it, have found it, on the contrary, to be seated in a fair, fruitful and flourishing plain, from whence it has a clear view of all things below it, to which place any one however may arrive, if he knows the best way, thro’ shady, verdant, and sweetly flourishing walks, by a pleasant and gentle descent, like that of the celestial arches. For
 want

* Juv. Sat. 9. v. 18, 19.

want of having frequented this supreme, beautiful, triumphant and amiable, and equally delightful and courageous virtue, this professed and implacable enemy to animosity, vexation, fear and constraint, whose guide is nature, and whose companions are happiness and pleasure, they have, in the weakness of their imagination, created this silly, melancholy, quarrelsome, spiteful, menacing, quaint image of it, and placed it on a solitary rock amongst thorns and briars, as a hobgoblin to scare people from it.

But the governor that I would have, that is such a one as knows it to be his duty to possess his pupil with as much, or more affection than reverence to virtue, will be able to inform him, that the poets have ever more accommodated themselves to the taste of the publick, and will make him sensible, that the Gods have placed sweat and toil in the cabinets of Venus rather than in those of Minerva. And when he begins to be sensible of it, by representing to him a Bradamanta *, or an Angelica for a mistress to dally with, a natural, active, generous, a masculine, a manly beauty, in comparison of a soft, affected, delicate, artificial beauty, the one dignified in the dress of a heroine, crowned with a glittering helmet, the other adorned like a minx, with pearls, he will then judge his affection to be masculine, if he should chuse quite contrary to that effeminate shepherd of Phrygia

Such a tutor will read this new doctrine to him, that the value and sublimity of true virtue consists in the facility, utility and pleasure of its exercise, so far from being difficult, that boys, as well as men, the most simple, as well as the cunning, may attain to it, and not by force, but by rule. Socrates, its chief minion, totally quits forcible methods, to slip into the more natural facility of its own progress. It is the nursing mother of all human pleasures, which, by rendering them just, makes them pure and safe, by moderating them keeps them in breath and appetite, and by cutting off those which it rejects, gives an edge to our desire of those it allows, and, like a kind mother, allows in abundance all those which nature requires, even to satiety, if not to lassitude, unless, perhaps, we chuse to say, that the regimen which prevents

* Two heroines in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

vents the toper from being drunk, the glutton from being surfeited, the whoremaster from being p-x'd, is an enemy to our pleasures.

If the virtuous man has not the common share of fortune, he passes it by, or does without it, and frames for himself another altogether his own, not more fickle and unsteady. Virtue knows how to be rich, and powerful, and learned, and to lie upon perfumed quilts. It loves life, beauty, health and honour, but its proper and peculiar office is to know how to use those blessings regularly, and how to part with them without concern; an office much more noble than troublesome, the whole course of a man's life being, without it, unnatural, turbulent and unseemly. If the pupil shall happen to be of so different a disposition, that he had rather hear a fable than a narrative of a fine voyage, or some wise discourse which he understands; if at the beat of a drum, which excites the youthful ardour of his companions, he turns off to another, who calls him to see a puppet show, or the tricks of a Merry-andrew; if he does not wish, and think it more pleasant and delightful, to return all over dust victorious from a battle, than from the play of tennis or foot-ball with the prize of those exercises; I see no other remedy, but that he be put apprentice to a pastry cook in some good town, tho' he were the son of a duke, according to Plato's receipt, 'that children are to be placed out, and disposed of, not according to the wealth or rank of the father, but according to their own genius or capacity.'

Since philosophy is that which instructs us to live, and that it has a lesson for infancy as well as other ages, why are not children sooner initiated into it.

Udum, & molle lutum est, nunc, nunc properandus, & acri Fingendus sine fine rota *. i. e.

The clay is moist, and soft, now, now make haste,
And form the vessel, for the wheel turns fast.

We are taught to live when we are going out of the world. A hundred scholars have had the P-x before they came to read Aristotle's lectures on temperance. Cicero said, that were he to live over the same number of years he had seen, he should never find time to read the lyrick poets in the same manner as he had the books that treated

of

* Pers. Sat. 3. v. 23. 24.

of logick *. And yet I find these cavilling sophisters still more unprofitable. The child we are to train up has a great deal less time to spare. As he ought to be under a pedagogue for the first fifteen or sixteen years of his life, the remainder of it should be spent in action. Let us therefore employ so short a space of time in the instructions that are necessary. Away with the crabbed subtleties of logick; they are abuses by which our lives can never be amended; take the plain discourses of philosophy; learn to chuse and rightly to apply them; they are more easy to be understood than one of Boccace's novels: A child just come from its nurse, is much more capable of comprehending such plain philosophy, than of learning to read or write. Philosophy has discourses as proper for the rising generation, as for old age.

I am of Plutarch's opinion, that Aristotle did not so much trouble his great disciple with the knack of forming syllogisms, or with the elements of geometry, as in furnishing him with good precepts concerning valour, prowess, magnanimity, temperance, and the contempt of fear; and, with this ammunition, sent him, whilst he was but a boy, with no more than 30,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 42,000 crowns to conquer the world. As for the other arts and sciences, Alexander, said he, honoured them much, and commended their excellency, and their prettiness, but was not so much delighted with them, as to be tempted with a desire to practise them.

— *Petite hunc juvenesque senesque*

Finem animo certum, miserique viatica cani: †. i. e.

May to this lesson young and old attend,

And form their minds to some sure aim and end,

Which in old age will solid comfort send. }

Just so Epicurus said, in the beginning of his letter to Meniceus ‡, That neither the youngest should refuse to philosophise, nor the oldest grow weary of it. He that does otherwise, seems tacitly to imply, either that it is not yet time to live happily, or that the season for it is past. Yet, for all this, I would not have this lad of our's confined to his book as to a prison, nor abandoned to the peevishness and melancholy temper of a passionate school-master.

* This is taken entirely from Seneca, *Epiſt.* 49.

† *Perſ. Sat.* 5. v. 64, 65.

‡ *Diog. Laert. lib. x. ſect. 122.*

master. I would not have his spirits broke by being tormented and used as some are, like pack-horses, fourteen or fifteen hours a-day. Neither should I think it proper, when, by reason of a solitary and melancholy disposition, he appears to be too immoderately studious of books, that he should be indulged in that humour, because it renders him unfit for civil conversation, and diverts him from better employments: And how many men have I seen, in my time, totally brutified by an intemperate thirst after knowledge! Carneades was so besotted with it, that he did not give himself time so much as to comb his head, or pare his nails *. Neither would I have the generous temper of the pupil spoilt by the incivility or barbarity of that of another. The French wisdom has been anciently proverbial, for a wisdom that sprouted out early, but soon faded. Indeed, we still see there are none so hopeful as the little children of France, but they commonly disappoint the expectation that has been formed of them, and when they are grown up to be men are eminent for nothing. I have heard men of good understanding say, that the colleges they are sent to, of which there are abundance, make them such brutes.

As to our young gentleman, a closet, a garden, the table, his bed-solitude and company, morning and evening, all hours should be the same, and all places alike serve for his study; for philosophy, which, as the formatrix of his judgment and manners, should be his principal lesson, is active every where. The orator Isocrates, being intreated, at a feast, to discourse of his art, all the company thought he gave a right answer, when he said, † 'It is not now a time to do what I can do, ' and that which is now the time to do, I cannot do.' For to make harangues or rhetorical dissertations in a company met together to laugh and make good cheer, would have rendered it a very disagreeable medley. But as to philosophy, that part of it especially which treats of man, and of his offices and duties, it has been the common opinion of all wise men ‡, that, for the relish of conversation,

* Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Carneades, lib. i. sect. 62.

† Plutarch, in his table-talk, lib. i. qu. 1.

‡ Idem. ib.

sation, it ought not to be banished from sports and entertainments. And Plato having invited philosophy to be a guest at his banquet, we find in how gentle a manner, accommodated both to time and place, he entertained the company, tho' in a discourse of the sublimest and most salutary nature.

*Æquè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquè,
Et neglecta æquè pueris, senibusque nocebit*.*

Whose precepts rich and poor alike engage,
But, if neglected, hurt both youth and age.

By this method of instruction the pupil will not have so much idle time upon his hands as others. But as walking to and fro in a gallery, tho' the steps be three times as many, does not tire us so much as when we walk the same number of paces in a journey, so our lesson falling accidentally into our way, without any obligation of time and place, and mixing itself in all our actions, will insinuate itself insensibly.

The very exercises and recreations will prove to be a good part of his study, such as running, wrestling, musick, dancing, hunting, riding and fencing. I would have care taken of his external deportment and mein, and of the setting off his person at the same time with his mind. It is not a soul alone, nor a body alone, that we are training up, but a man, and we ought not to divide him into two parts. And, as Plato says, the one is not to be trained up without the other, but they must be made to draw together like a pair of horses harnessed to the same carriage. And if we attend to him, does he not seem to require more time and care for the exercises of the body, and to think that the mind exercises itself too at the same time?

As to the rest, this method of education ought to be carried on with a mild severity, not like our modern pedagogues, who, instead of alluring children to their learning, correct, or at least frighten them with nothing but rods and ferulas, horror and cruelty. Away with this force! this violence! There is nothing, in my opinion, so much crows and stupifies a lad of a good disposition. If you desire that he should be afraid of shame and chastisement, do not harden him to them. Inure him, as much as you will, to sweat and cold, to wind and sun, and

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* Hor. lib. i. Epist. i. v. 25, 26.

to dangers that he ought to despise. Wean him from all effeminacy and delicacy in cloaths and bedding, in eating and in drinking. Use him to every thing that he may not be a rake and a fop, but a hale, strong lad. I was ever of this opinion from a child, and think so still. But, amongst other things, I never lik'd the management in most of our colleges, whose error, peradventure, might not have been so mischievous, if they had inclined to the indulgent side. They are really so many cages in which youth are shut up as prisoners, who are therein taught to be debauched, by being punished before they are so. Do but go thither just as their exercises are over, you hear nothing but the cries of children under the smart of correction, and the bellowing noise of the masters drunk with passion. How can such tender, timorous souls be tempted to love their lesson by such ruby-fac'd guides, with wrath in their aspects, and the scourge in their hands? A wicked and pernicious form of proceeding! Add to this a very good observation of Quintilian, That such an imperious authority is attended with dangerous consequences; and in particular he alludes to our method of chastisement. How much more decent would it be to see the forms which the boys sit on, strewed with flowers and green leaves, than with the bloody twigs of willows? I should chuse to have the pictures of joy and gladness in the schools, together with Flora and the graces, as the philosopher Speusippus * had in his; that where their profit is, there might be their pleasure. The viands that are wholesome for children ought to be sweetened with sugar, and those that are hurtful to them made as bitter as gall. It is wonderful to see how careful Plato is in his laws about the gaiety and pastimes of the youth of his city, and how he expatiates upon their races, games, songs, vaulting and dancing, of which, he says, the ancients gave the conduct and patronage to the gods Apollo and Minerva, and to the muses. He lays down not less than a thousand rules for his exercises; but as to the letter'd sciences he insists very little upon them, and seems to recommend poetry in particular only for the musick sake.

VOL. I.

I

All

* Dio,enes Laertius, in the life of Speusippus, lib. iv. sect. 1.

All oddness and singularity in our manners and conditions ought to be avoided, as an enemy to society. Who would not be astonished to hear that Demophoon, steward to Alexander, sweated in the shade, and shiver'd in the sun *? I have seen persons that have run faster from the smell of apples than from gunshot; others that have been frightened at a mouse; others that vomit at the sight of cream, and some that have done the like at the making of a feather-bed, as Germanicus, who could not bear the sight, nor the crowing of a cock. I will not deny but, peradventure, there may have been some occult cause of this aversion; but, I think, if it was undertaken in time, it might be extinguished. Instruction has so prevailed in this respect upon me, (tho' not without some care upon my part) that, beer excepted, my appetite is reconciled to all eatables indifferently.

While the bodies of youth are supple, they ought therefore to bend to all fashions and customs, and, provided the appetite and the will can be kept within due bounds, a young man may be safely rendered fit for all nations and companies, even to irregularity and excess, if need be, that is in compliance with custom. Let him be able to do every thing, but love to do nothing that is not good. Even the philosophers do not commend Calisthenes for losing the favour of his master, Alexander the great, by refusing to drink with him glass for glass. Let the pupil laugh, play, and carouse with his prince; nay, I would have him in such debauches to be too hard for his companions in ability and vigour, and that he may not forbear doing mischief, either for want of strength, or of knowledge how to do it, but for want of the will. 'Multum interest, utrum peccare quis nolit, aut 'nesciat †.' i. e. There is a wide difference betwixt refusing to do evil, and not knowing how to do it. I thought I passed a compliment upon a nobleman, as free from these excesses as any man in France, by asking him before a great deal of very good company, how often he got drunk in Germany for the sake of managing the king's business there? He took the compliment as it was really intended, and

* Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. i. c. 14. p. 17.

† Seneca, epist. 90.

and made answer, three times; of which, withal, he gave us the particular history. I know some, who, for want of this faculty, have been at a great loss in negotiating with that nation. I have often with great admiration, reflected upon the wonderful constitution of Alcibiades, who so easily could transform himself to such different manners, and customs, without prejudice to his health, one while outstripping the excessive expence and pomp of the Persians, and at other times the austerity and frugality of the Lacedæmonians, as reformed in Sparta, as voluptuous in Ionia.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res *. i. e.

Old Aristippus every dress became,

In every state and circumstance the same.

I would have my pupil to be such a one,

— *Quem duplici panno patientia velat,*

Mirabor vitæ via si conversa decebit,

Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque †. i. e.

But that a man whom patience taught to wear

A coat that's patch'd, should ever learn to bear

A change of life with decency and ease,

May justly, I confess, our wonder raise;

Yet he in ev'ry character can please.

These are my lessons; and he who puts them in practice will be a greater gainer than he who only knows them in the theory. If you see him, you hear him; if you hear him, you see him. God forbid, says one in Plato, that to philosophise should be only to learn many things, and to treat of the arts. ‘*Hanc amplissimam omnium artium bene vivendi disciplinam, vita magis quam literis persequuti sunt* ‡.’ i. e. It is rather by their living well, than their learning, that they have devoted themselves to the most extensive of all arts, the discipline of a good life. Leo, prince of the Phliasiens, asking Heraclides Ponticus what art or science he made profession of? I know, said he, neither art nor science, but I am a philosopher.

I 2

One

* Hor. epist. 17. lib. i. v. 23.

† Idem, ib. v. 25. 26. 29.

‡ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 3.

§ It was not Heraclides, but Pythagoras that returned this answer to Leo; and it is from a book of Heraclides, a disciple of Plato, that Cicero quotes this passage, as he says in his Tusc. Quæst. l. v. c. 3. Plato was not born till above 100 years after Pythagoras.

One reproaching Diogenes, that, being ignorant, he should pretend to philosophy; I therefore pretend to it, said he, so much more to the purpose *. Hegesias desired that he would read a certain book to him. You are a pleasant companion, said he to him, you chuse figs that are true and natural, and not those that are painted; why do not you also chuse exercises that are natural and genuine, rather than those that are prescribed?

He will not so much get his lesson by heart as by practice. We shall discover if there is prudence in his enterprizes, if there be goodness and justice in his deportment, judgment and a grace in his speaking, fortitude in his sickness, modesty in his merriment, temperance in his pleasures, order in his oeconomy, and indifference in his palate, as to flesh, fish, wine or water. * *Qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ putet, quique obtemperet ipse sibi, & decretis pareat.* † i. e. Who considers his learning not as a vain ostentation of science, but as a rule of life, and who obeys its decrees, and observes its regimen. The conduct of our lives is the true mirror of our conversation. When one asked Zeupidamus ‡, why the Lacedæmonians did commit their constitutions of chivalry to writing, and did not give them to their youth to read? he made answer, Because they chose to accustom them to action, rather than to amuse them with words. With such a one as this, compare one of those college latinists, who has thrown away fifteen or sixteen years in only learning to speak. The world is nothing but babble, and I never yet saw the man who did not rather talk more, than less than he ought, and yet half of our time is consumed this way. We are held on four or five years to learn the meaning of words, and to tack them together into clauses; as many more to distribute one copious discourse into four or five parts, and the remaining five years, at least, to learn succinctly to mix and interweave them after a subtle manner. Let us leave it to those who make it their particular profession.

Going

* Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Diogenes the Cynick, lib. 5. sect. 48. † Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. c. 4.

‡ Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

Going one day to Orleans, I met, in the plain on this side of Clery, with two Pedagogues travelling towards Bourdeaux, the one above fifty paces before the other, and at some distance behind them I saw a troop of horse with their commander at the head of them, who was the late monsieur the count de la Rouchefoucault; one of my companions enquired of the foremost of the two pedants who that gentleman was that followed him, who, not having perceived the train in the rear, and thinking that he meant his companion, answered pleasantly, 'He is not a gentleman, sir, he is a grammarian, and I am a logician.'

Now we who on the contrary do not aim to form a grammarian nor logician, but a gentleman, leave them to mispend their time; our business lies another way: For let our pupil be well furnished with things, words will flow in but too fast, he will drag them after him, if they are not ready to follow. I have observed some to make excuses for want of a capacity to express themselves, and pretend to have a great many fine thoughts, but, for want of elocution, are not able to utter them; but this is a sham. Will you know what I think of it? I take their thoughts to be nothing but shadows of some irregular conceptions which they are not able to connect and clear up in their own minds, nor by consequence to bring them out. They do not yet themselves understand what they would be at, and if you do but observe how they hesitate upon the point of parturition, you will soon perceive that their labour is not to a delivery, but merely in conception, and that they are still licking the imperfect embryo. For my part, I am of opinion, and Socrates lays it down as a rule, that whoever has a sprightly and clear imagination, will be able to express it well enough in some dialect or other, and if dumb, by signs.

Verbaque previam rem non invita sequuntur *. i. e.

When once a thing conceiv'd is, in the mind,

Words to express it a quick passage find.

And as another says as poetically in prose, 'Cum res animus occupavere, verba ambiunt †; ' i. e. When the mind is once master of a thing, words are eager to utter

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it;

* Hor. Art. Poet. v. 311.

† Senec. Contr. l. 3. in the preface.

it; and this other, 'ipse res verba rapiunt *; i. e. Things themselves draw out words after them. He knows nothing of ablative, conjunctive, subjunctive, nor of grammar, no more than his lackey or a fishwoman at the Petit Pont, and yet their tongues will run till you are tired of hearing them, and, perhaps, will trip as little in their language as the best master of arts in France. He knows no rhetoric, nor how to word a preface, so as to bribe the benevolence of a candid reader, nor is he solicitous to know it. In truth, all this decoration of painting is easily obscured by the lustre of a simple and blunt truth. Such fine flourishes serve only to amuse the vulgar, who are not able to digest food that is more substantial and strengthening, as Aler plainly shews in † Tacitus. The ambassadors of Samos came to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, prepared with a long and elegant oration, to incite him to a war against the tyrant Polycrates, who after he had heard them with patience, gave them this short answer, ' ‡ As to the preamble, I remember it not, nor consequently the middle of your speech, and as to your conclusion, I will do nothing that you desire.' A fine answer this, methinks, and the speech-makers were, no doubt, quite confounded. And how far'd it with the other? The Athenians were to chuse one out of two architects to be the director of a great fabrick, the one of which, an affected fellow, offered his service in a fine premeditated harangue upon the subject, and by his oratory inclined the suffrage of the people in his favour; but the other only made use of these few words, ' Ye lords of Athens, what this man hath only said, I will perform §.' When Cicero was in the highest reputation for his eloquence, he was admired by many; but || Cato made a jest of it, only said,

* Cic. de Finibus, lib. 3. c. 5.

† In a dialogue, intituled, 'De causis corruptæ eloquentiæ,' the author of which is not very well known. Several of the learned, as well as Montaigne, ascribe it to Tacitus, others to Quintilian, &c.

‡ Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

§ Plutarch, in his instructions for those who manage state affairs.

|| Montaigne gives too general a latitude to Cato's reflection, tho' perhaps he did so for the purpose. Cato did not ridicule Cicero's eloquence in the general, but only his abuse of it while he was consul.

said, 'We have a pleasant consul.' Whether it goes before or after, a good sentence, or a fine passage, is always in season; if it neither coheres with what went before, nor follows after, it is however good in itself. I am none of those who think that good rhyme makes a good poem. Let the bard make a short syllable long if he will; it is a matter of no moment, if there be gay invention in his piece, and if wit and judgment have acted their parts well in it, I will stile him a good poet, tho' a bad rhymet.

Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus *. i. e.

His wit is delicate, tho' harsh his verse.

Let a man, says Horace, strip such a poem as he there speaks of, viz. that of Ennius, of all its connections and measures,

*Tempora certa, modosque, & quod prius ordine verbum est,
Posterius faciat, præponens ultima primis,*

Invenias etiam disjecti membra poetæ †.

Let tense, and mood, and words be all misplac'd,

Those last that should be first, those first be last;

Tho' all things be thus shuffled out of frame,

You'll find the poet's fragments not to blame.

he will never the more perfect his praise; for the very scraps themselves will be fine. This was the import of Menander's answer, who, when the day was at hand on which he had promised a comedy, being reproved that he made no great progress in it, said, 'It was composed † and ready, all except the verses.' Having contriv'd the acts and the scenes in his fancy, he made little account of the rest.

Since Ronsard and Bellay have brought our French poetry into reputation, every little dabbler in it, for

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consul. When he was pleading one day for Murena against Cato, he fell to ridiculing the gravest principles of the stoick philosophy in too comick a manner, and consequently not becoming the august station he then was in. This is what drew Cato's answer above-mentioned, which was more stinging than all the invectives which Cicero had so lately cast at this great man, who was much more a stoick by his manners, than by his discourses. See Plutarch in the life of Cato, ch. 6. of Amyot's translation.

* Hor. Sat. 4. lib. 1. v. 8.

† Hor. lib. 1. Sat. 4. v. 58.

‡ Plutarch, in his tract, whether the Athenians were more eminent in arms than in letters, c. 4.

aught I see, swells his words as high, and makes his cadences very near as harmonious, as they did. 'Plus sonat, quam valet *;' i. e. more sound than sense. As to low life, there were never so many poetasters as now; but tho' they find it no hard task to rhyme as musically as they, yet they fall infinitely short of imitating the noble descriptions of the one, and the curious inventions of the other.

But what shall our young gentleman do, if he be attacked with the sophistical subtlety of some syllogism. A gammon of bacon makes a man drink, drink quenches thirst; ergo the bacon quenches thirst. Why, let him laugh at it, and it will be more discretion to do so, than to answer it, 'subtilius est contempsisse quam solvere †. Or let him borrow this pleasant counter policy of Aristippus ‡, Why should I unbind him, who, bound as he is, gives me so much perplexity? A person endeavouring to pose Cleanthes with some logical subtleties, Chrysippus took him up short, saying, § Reserve your juggling tricks to play with children, and do not let them draw aside the serious thoughts of a man in years. If these ridiculous subtleties, 'contorta, & aculeata sophismata ||,' those perplexed and crabbed sophisms, as Cicero calls them, are designed to make him believe a lie, they are dangerous; but if they answer no other purpose, than only to make him laugh, I do not see why he need to be fortified against them. Some are so silly as to go a mile out of their way to hook in a fine term or phrase. 'Aut qui non verba rebus aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba convenient **.' Either they do not adapt their terms to their subject, but ramble from their subject in quest of things to which the words may agree. And, as another says, 'Qui alicujus verbi decore placitis vocentur ad id, quod non proposuerant scribere ††;' i. e. By their charm of some word that pleases them, they are engaged in a subject which they had no design to treat of. For my part, I chuse to twist in

* Seneca, epist. 40. † Idem, epist. 49. ‡ Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Aristippus, lib. 2. sect. 70. § Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Chrysippus, lib. 7. sect. 183. || Cic. Acad. Quæst. lib. 4. c. 24. ** Quintil. lib. 8. †† Senec. epist. 59.

in a fine sentence, to tack it to my subject, rather than to untwist the thread of my subject, by deviating from it in quest of such sentence. On the contrary, words are to serve and follow a man's purpose; and let the Gascon language take place where the French will not do. I would have the imagination of the hearer intirely engrossed by the subject, altho' the words are forgot. The stile I am fond of is natural and plain, both in speaking and writing; a stile that is pithy and nervous, concise and compact, not so delicate and florid, as masterly and forcible. '*Hæc demum sapiet dictio, quæ seriet* *.' i. e. The expression which makes an impression on the mind will infallibly please it; rather intricate than long-winded periods, free from affectation; not stiff nor disjointed, nor confident where every limb answers to the body; not pedantick, nor monk, nor lawyer-like; but rather soldier-like, as Suetonius calls that of Julius Cæsar, yet why he call'd it so, I cannot well conceive.

I have been ready enough to imitate that loose fashion, which is observable in the dress of our young fellows; to wear my cloak flung upon one shoulder, my cap on one side, one stocking looser than the other, which represents a haughty disdain of the foreign ornaments, and a negligence of art, which I find of much better use in the forms of speech. All affectation; particularly in the French gaiety and freedom, is unbecoming a courtier, whose dress ought to be the model for every gentleman in a monarchy, for which reason an easy and natural negligence does well. I no more like a piece of stuff wove, in which the knots and seams are to be seen, than a skin so delicate, that a man may count the bones and veins. '*Quæ veritati operam dat oratio, incomposita sit, & simplex* †. — *Quis accuratè loquitur, nisi qui vult putidè loqui* ‡.' i. e. Let the speech that has truth for its aim, be plain and artless. What man strives to speak accurately without exposing his affectation? That sort of eloquence which makes us in love with ourselves, does an injury to the subject it treats

I. 5.

of.

* The Latin verse is taken from a sort of epitaph in Lucan, which is to be found intire in the supplement to Fabricius's *Bibliothecæ Latina*, p. 167.

† Senec. epist. 40.

‡ Idem, epist. 75.

of. As in our apparel it is unmanly to distinguish ourselves by any singular garb that is not in the fashion; so in language, to hunt for new phrases, and unknown terms, proceeds from a scholastick and puerile ambition. May I be permitted to use no other terms but those that will do as well for the markets at Paris! Aristophanes, the grammarian, understood nothing of the matter, when he reproved Epicurus for the simplicity of his expression, and the design of his oratory, which was only perspicuity of language *. The imitation of speaking, by its own faculty, immediately runs thro' a whole nation; but the imitation of judging and inventing words is not so quick in its progress. The generality of readers, because they have found a like a robe, imagine, very falsely, that they have a like body; whereas strength and sinews are not to be borrowed, tho' the gloss and outward ornament may. Most of those who resort to me, speak the language of my essays, but whether they have the same sentiments, I know not. The Athenians, says Plato †, are for their part, eminent for speaking copiously and elegantly, the Lacedæmonians concisely, and those of Crete aim more at the fertility of the imagination, than the copiousness of language, and these are the best. Zeno said, that he had two sorts of disciples, the one whom he termed φιλόλογος, curious to learn things, and these were his favourites; and the others λογοφύλακες, who cared for nothing but language; [Stobæus Serm. 34.] this does not mean that speaking well is not a fine and a happy talent, but only that it is not so happy as some make it, and I am scandalized that this should engross our whole time. I would fain understand my own language first; and next, that of my neighbours, with whom I most correspond.

Greek and Latin are no doubt very fine accomplishments, but we purchase them at too dear a rate. I will here discover one method whereby, as I myself have experienced, they may be had much cheaper, and who will may make use of it. My deceased father having made all the enquiry that a man could possibly do among men of learning and understanding of an exact method

* Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Epicurus, lib. 10. sect. 13.

† De Legibus, l. 1. p. 572.

method of education, was by them apprized by this inconvenience which attended the practice at that time; and he was told, that the tedious time we spent in learning the languages, which cost them but very little, if any, was the only reason we could not obtain to the magnanimity of the ancient Greeks * and Romans, nor to their knowledge. I do not, however, believe that to be the only cause; but the expedient my father found out for this was, that while I was at nurse, and before I began to speak, he committed me to the care of a German, who since died a famous physician in France, totally ignorant of our language indeed, but very well versed in the Latin.

This gentleman, whom he had sent for out of his own country on purpose, and to whom he paid an extraordinary salary, had me continually in his arms, and to him were joined two others of inferior learning to attend me by way of relief to him, and all these talked to me in no other language but Latin. As to the rest of his family, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himself, nor my mother, nor the footman, nor the chambermaid should speak any thing in my company but such Latin words as each had learnt only to gabble with me. It is not to be imagined how great an advantage this proved to the whole family. My father and mother, by this means, learnt Latin enough to understand it, and to speak it well enough to serve their occasions, as did also those of the domesticks who were most attendant upon me. To be short, we latinised it to such a degree, that it overflowed to all our neighbouring villages, where there still remain, having established themselves by custom, several Latin names of artificers and their tools. As for myself, I was above six years of age before I understood either French, or Perigorden, any more than Arabick; and without art, book, grammar, or precept, without the lash, and without shedding a tear, I had learnt to speak as pure Latin

* The ancient Greeks, more fortunate or wiser than the Romans, only learnt their own language; whereas the Romans commonly joined the study of Greek to that of the Latin tongue, and derived almost all their notions from the Greek books, both their poetry and their philosophy being scarce any thing more than translations from the Greek.

Latin as my schoolmaster, for I could not have confounded nor corrupted it. If, by way of trial, they were disposed to give me a theme after the college fashion, they gave it to the others in French, but to me they were of necessity to give it in bad Latin that I might turn it into good. And Nicholas Grouchi, who wrote de Comitibus Romanorum; William Guirentes, who wrote a comment upon Aristotle; George Buchanan, the great poet of Scotland, and Marcus Antonius Muretus, (whom both France and Italy have acknowledged to be the best orator of his time) my domestick preceptors, have often told me, that, in my very childhood, I had this language so ready and fluent, that they were afraid to accost me in it. Buchanan, when I saw him afterwards in the retinue of the late Marechal de Brissac, told me, that he was about to write a treatise of the education of children, and that he would take the model of it from mine: For he was then tutor to that count de Brissac, whom we have since seen so valiant and so brave a gentleman.

As to Greek, of which I know very little, if any thing at all, my father intended to make me learn it by art, but in a new way, by the means of recreation and exercise, tossing our declensions to and fro, after the manner of those who learn arithmetick and geometry, by certain games on the chess-board. For, amongst other things, he had been advised to make me relish my learning and my duty by an unforced will, and at my own desire, and to train me up with all gentleness and freedom, without any severity or constraint, which, I may say, he observed so very superstitiously, that, as some are of opinion, it disorders the tender brains of children to awake them by surprize in the morning, and suddenly and violently to snatch them from sleep (in which they are more profoundly involved than we are) he caused me to be waked out of it by the sound of some instrument of musick, and I was never without a musician for that purpose. This instance will be sufficient to form an idea of the rest, as well as to recommend both the prudence and the affection of so good a father, who is not at all to be blamed, if he has not reaped the fruit answerable to so exquisite a culture, of which these two things were the cause. First, a barren and improper soil. For tho' I was of a strong
and

and healthful, and of a mild and tractable temper, I was withal so heavy, indolent and sleepy, that they could not rouse me from this stupidity, no, not even to play. What I saw, I saw clearly enough, and, in this lazy disposition of mine, nourished bold imaginations, and opinions above one of my age. I had a slow genius, which made no progress faster than it was led, a dull apprehension, a languid invention, and, after all, an incredible defect of memory, so that no wonder, if, taking all this together, my father could extract nothing of value. Secondly, As they, who, impatient for the cure of a distemper, submit to all manner of advice, so the good man, being extremely fearful of failing in a thing which he had so much at heart, suffered himself at last to be over-ruled by the common opinion, as one fool always makes many, and, in compliance with the fashion of the time, having dismissed those *Italians* from about him who had given him the first plans of my education, he sent me, when I was about six years of age, to the college of *Guienne*, which was very flourishing at that time, and the best in *France*, where he took all possible care to chuse able tutors for me, and provide every thing else proper for my education, in which he made a reservation of many particular forms contrary to the practice of the colleges; but, with all these precautions, it was still a college. My *Latin* immediately grew corrupt, of which, by discontinuance, I have since lost all manner of use; so that this new-fashioned education was of no other service to me, than, at my arrival there, to prefer me over the heads of others to the first classes: for at thirty-three years old, when I came away from the college, I had run through my whole course (as they call it) and, in truth, without any manner of improvement that I can at this time recollect.

The pleasure I found in the fables in *Ovid's Metamorphosis* first gave me a liking to books: for when I was about seven or eight years old, I stole from every other pleasure to read them, forasmuch as the language of this book was my mother tongue, and that it was the easiest book I knew, and the most adapted to the capacity of my tender years. For as to *Lancelot of the Lake*, *Amadis de Gaul*, *Huon de Bourdeaux*, and such trumpery, the favourite

yourite amusements of children, I had not so much as heard the names of them, no more than I yet know the contents of them; so strict was the discipline I was brought up in. I was hereby, however, rendered the more indifferent to the study of the other lessons that were prescribed to me: and here it was, to my singular advantage, to have a gentleman of good understanding for my preceptor, who dextrously connived at this and other such deviations from my task. For by this means I ran through Virgil's *Aeneid*, Terence, Plautus, and some Italian comedies, being continually allured by the pleasure of the subject; whereas, had he been so unwise as to have interrupted me in this course of my reading, I verily believe, I should have brought nothing away from the college, but a hatred of books, as almost all our gentry do. But his conduct in this matter was quite discreet, seeming to take no notice of it; and by permitting me to indulge myself in these books, only by stealth from any other regular studies, it made my appetite for those books the more eager. For the chief things my father desired from their endeavours to whom he gave charge of me, were courtesy and compliance; and, to say the truth, my temper had no other vice but pusillanimity and sloth. There was no danger of my doing ill, but of my doing nothing. Nobody prognosticated that I should be wicked, but useless; they foresaw idleness in my nature, but not malice, and I find myself accordingly. The complaints my ears are tingled with are such as these; he is idle, cold in the offices of a friend, and of a relation, and in the publick offices too particular, and too scornful: The worst, however, of his enemies do not say, why has he taken such a thing? Why has he not paid such a debt? But, why does he not part with this? Why does he not give that? And I should take it as a favour, that men would expect no effects of supererogation but such as these: But they are unjust to exact from me what I do not owe, and with more severity than necessity, they impose upon themselves to pay their own debts. In condemning me for this, they cancel the gratification of the act, and the gratitude which would be due to me for it: Whereas the doing a good action ought to be deemed of so much the greater value

value from my hands, by reason I never was under obligation to any body for a favour. As my fortune is my own, I am the more at liberty to dispose of it, as I am of my person the more it is my own. Nevertheless, if I was good at blazoning my own actions, I could, perhaps, very fairly repel these reproaches, and could give some to understand, that they are not so much offended that I do not do enough, as that I am able to do a great deal more than I do. Yet, for all this, my mind, at the same time, had secret and strong agitations, and formed solid and clear judgments about those objects it comprehended, and it alone digested them without any help: And, amongst other things, I do really believe it would have been altogether incapable of submitting to force and violence. Shall I place to this account one faculty of my youth, viz. a bold countenance, attended with a smooth tongue, and a supple behaviour, applicable to the parts which I was to undertake? For,

*Alter ab undecimo tum me vix ceperat annus **.

I was but just entered into my twelfth year, when I played the chief parts in the latin tragedies of Buchanan, Guerent, and Muretus, which are acted with great applause in our college at Guienne. In this Andreas Goveanus, our principal, as in all other branches of his office, was, incomparably the greatest principal in France, and I was looked upon as a masterly actor. This is an exercise which I do not discommend in young people of condition; and I have seen some of our princes, after the example of the ancients, perform such exercises, in person, with dignity and applause. It was even allowable to persons of quality in Greece to make a profession of it. * Aristoni tragico actori rem aperit: Huic & genus, & fortuna honesta erant: Nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pudori est ea deformabat †. i. e. He discovered the affair to Ariston, a young tragedian, a man of a good family and fortune, neither of which qualities were disgraced by his art, nothing of this kind being reckoned a disparagement in Greece. For I have always taxed those with impertinence who condemn these recreations, and those persons with injustice, who refuse to admit such comedians,

* Virg. Ecl. 8. v. 39.

† Tit. Liv. lib. 24. c. 24.

comedians, as were worthy of it, into our capital towns, and who grudge the people those publick diversions. Well governed corporations take care to assemble the citizens, not only for the solemn duties of devotion, but also for sports and pastimes. Society and friendship are augmented by it; and, besides, they cannot possibly be allowed more regular diversions than what are performed in the presence of all persons, and in the sight of the magistrate himself. For my part too, I should think it but right, that the prince should sometimes, at his own expence gratify the common people, in token of his paternal affection and goodness; and that, in populous towns, there should be theatres erected and set apart for such entertainments, if it were only to divert them from worse and more secret actions. But, to return to my subject, there is nothing like alluring the appetite and affection of the young learners, otherwise they turn out only as so many asses laden with books, and have their pockets crammed with learning to keep by virtue of the lash; whereas, to act rightly, would be, not only to lodge it with them, but to make them espouse it.

CHAP. XXVI. *The folly of making our capacity a standard for the measure of truth and error.*

IT is not, perhaps, without reason, that we ascribe facility of belief, and easiness of persuasion, to simplicity and ignorance; for, I think, I have heretofore heard belief compared to an impression stamped upon our mind, which by how much the softer and the more flexible it is, the more easily it receives any impression.

* Ut necesse est lancem in libra ponderibus impositis, de primis sic animum perspicuis cedere *. i. e. As one of the scales of a balance must be depressed by putting weight into it, so the assent of the mind must of necessity yield to things that are evident. And the more the mind is free, and turns upon an uneven balance, the easier it is weighed down by the first persuasion. This is the reason that children, the common people, women, and sick folks are most liable to be led by the ears. But then, on the other hand, it is a silly presumption to slight and condemn.

* Cic. Acad. Quest. lib. 4. (qui inscribitur Lucullus) c. 12.

demn every thing as false, because it does not seem to us likely to be true, which is the common failing of such as fancy themselves wiser than their neighbours. I was myself formerly of that opinion, and if I heard talk either of spirits walking, of prognostications of futurity, of enchantments, witchcraft, or any other tale which I knew not what to make of,

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Theffala* *. i. e.

Can you in earnest laugh at all the schemes,
Of magick terrors, visionary dreams,
Portentous prodigies, and imps of hell,

The nightly goblins, and enchanting spell?

I pitied the poor people that were imposed upon by these fooleries; and now I find that I myself was to be pitied as much at least as they. Not that experience has taught me any thing to supersede my former opinions, though I have not wanted curiosity, but reason has instructed me, that thus resolutely to condemn a thing as false and impossible, is to presume to set limits to God's will, and the power of nature, our common mother; and that it is the most egregious folly in the world to measure either the one or the other by the standard of our shallow capacities. If we give the epithets of monstrous and miraculous to what our reason cannot comprehend, how many things of that nature are continually before our eyes? Let us but consider through what clouds, and how we are led groping, as it were, in the dark, to the knowledge of the things we are possessed of, and we shall surely find, that it is rather custom than knowledge that makes them appear not strange to us;

— *Jam nemo fessus saturusque videndi,
Susplicere in Cæli dignatur lucida Templa* †: i. e.

Already glutted with the sight, now none,
Heav'n's lucid temples deigns to look upon.

and that if those things were now presented as new to us, we should think them equally, or more incredible than any other.

—Si

* Hor. lib. 2. Ep. 2. v. 208, 209.

† It is in 'Lucretius, fessus sariate videndi, sariate' being the ablative case of the noun substantive Satias. † Lucret. lib. 2. v. 1037, 1038.

—*Si nunc primum mortalibus adsint
Ex improvise, seu sint objecta repente,
Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,
Aut minus ante quod auderent fore credere gentes* *. i. e.
Were those things suddenly, or by surprize,
Just now objected, new to mortal eyes,
At nothing could they be astonish'd more,
Nor could have form'd a thought of them before.

The man who had never seen a river in his whole life, thought the first he met with to be the ocean; and the things which are the greatest within our knowledge, we think to be the greatest that nature has formed of the kind.

*Scilicet Et fluvius qui non est maximus, ei est
Qui non ante aliquem majorem vidit Et ingens;
Arbor homoque videtur, Et omnia de genere omni
Maxime quæ vidit quisque, hæc ingenia fingit* †. i. e.
A little river unto him does seem.

That bigger never saw, a mighty stream;
A tree; a man; all things seem to his view.

O'th' kind the greatest that ne'er greater knew.

* *Consuetudine oculorum, assuescunt animi, neque admirantur, neque requirunt rationes earum rerum, quas semper vident* ‡. i. e. Things grow familiar to men's minds by being often seen, so that they neither admire at, nor are inquisitive into the causes of them. It is the novelty, rather than the grandeur of things, tempts us to enquire into their causes. But we are to judge with more reverence for that infinite power of nature, and with a greater acknowledgment of our own ignorance and infirmity. How many unlikely things are there testified by persons of credit, which, if we cannot absolutely believe, we ought at least to live in suspence? For, to conclude them impossible, is rashly presuming to pretend to know the utmost bounds of possibility. Did we rightly understand the difference betwixt things impossible and unusual, and what is contrary to the order and course of nature, and contrary to the common opinion of mankind, in not believing rashly, nor, on the other

* Lucret. lib. 2. v. 1032, to 1035.

† Ibid. lib. 6. v. 674.

to 677.

‡ Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. c. 38.

other hand, being too incredulous, we should observe the rule of 'ne quid nimis,' enjoined by Chilo*.

When we read in Froissard, that the Count de Foix knew in Bearn the defeat of king John of Castile at Juberother, in 1385, the next day after it happened, and the means by which he tells us he came to hear † it so soon, it is enough to make one laugh, as well as what we are told in our annals, that pope Honorius, on the very day that Philip Augustus died at Mante, performed his funeral obsequies at Rome, and commanded the like throughout Italy; for the testimony of these authors is not, perhaps, considerable enough to be relied on. But why? if Plutarch, besides several instances of the like kind that he produces from antiquity, says, he is assured by certain knowledge, that in the time of Domitian, the news of the battle lost by Antonius, many days journey ‡ from thence, was published at Rome §, and dispersed throughout the world on the same day it was fought; and if Cæsar was of opinion, that it has often happened that the rumour has been antecedent to the event, shall we not say, that those simple men suffered themselves to be deceived with the vulgar, for not being so clear sighted as we? Is there any thing more delicate, more exact, and more sprightly than Pliny's judgment, when he is pleased to give it exercise? Is there any thing more exempt from vanity? Setting aside his excellent learning, of which I make the least account, in which of these two do we surpass him? And yet there is scarce a pretender to learning but will pronounce him a liar, and pretend to instruct him in the progress of the works of nature.

When we read in *Bouchet* the miracles performed by St. Hilary's reliques, away with such stuff, his authority is not

* *Μὴδὲν ἄγαν*, Aristotle in his rhetorick, lib. 11. c. 12. and Pliny (Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 32.) ascribe this maxim to Chilo, as does Diogenes Laertius in the life of Thales, lib. 1. sect. 41. but he afterwards ascribes it to Solon, in his life of Solon, lib. 1. sect. 63. It has been also attributed to others. See Menage's observations on Diogenes Laertius in the life of Thales, lib. 1. sect. 41.

† Froissart, vol. 3. c. 17. p. 63, &c. the story is very tedious, and perfectly ridiculous.

‡ Above 840 leagues, says Plutarch, in the life of Paulus Æmilius.

§ There is no body in my time, adds Plutarch, but knows this.

not sufficient to restrain us from the liberty of contradicting him ; but to condemn all such stories in the lump, is, I think, a singular piece of impudence. The great St. Austin says, he saw a blind child recover its sight by the relicks of St. Gervase, and St. Protasius at Milan * ; and a woman at Carthage cured of a cancer, by the sign of the cross made upon her by a woman newly baptized ; that Hesperius †, a familiar friend of his, drove away spirits that haunted his house with a little of the earth of our Lord's Sepulchre ; and that the same earth being afterwards carried to the church, a man afflicted with the palsy, was there suddenly cured by it ; that a woman, in a procession, having touched the shrine of St. Stephen with a nosegay, and therewith rubbed her eyes, recovered her sight, which she had been a long time deprived of ; not to mention several other miracles, at which, he says, he was himself present. Of what shall we accuse him and the two holy bishops, Aurelius and Maximin, whom he appeals to for his vouchers ? Shall it be of ignorance, simplicity, credulity, or of knavery and imposture ? Is there a man in this age so impudent as to think himself comparable to them either in virtue and piety, or in knowledge, judgment and capacity ? ' Qui ut rationem nullam afferent, ipsa autoritate me frangerent † ;' i. e. Who, though they should offer me no reason, would convince me by their single authority. It is a presumption of great danger and consequence, besides the absurd temerity it is attended with of contemning what we do not comprehend ; for after that, accord-
ing

* Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. 22. c. 8.

† Montaigne is guilty here of a small mistake. St. Austin does not ascribe this expulsion of the evil spirits to that small quantity of the earth of our Lord's sepulchre which Hesperius had in his house ; for, according to St. Austin, one of his priests, having, at the intreaty of Hesperius, repaired to his house, and offered the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and having prayed earnestly to God to put a stop to this disturbance. God did so that very instant. As to the earth taken from the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, Hesperius kept it suspended in his own bedchamber, to secure him from the insuls of the devils, who had been very mischievous to his slaves and cattle ; for tho' he was protected against the evil spirits by this earth, yet its influence did not extend to the rest of his family.

‡ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. c. 21.

ing to your fine understanding, you have settled the limits of truth and falshood, and it should happen that you are under a necessity of believing stranger things than those you deny, you are actually obliged to recede from the limits you have established. Now what I think so much disquiets our consciences in our commotions on the score of religion, is the catholicks dispensation of their creed: They fancy they act with moderation and understanding, when they give up to their adversaries any of the articles that are controverted; but besides that they do not discern of what advantage it is to their adversaries to begin to yield to them, and to retire, and how much this animates the adversaries to follow the blow, those articles which they chose as the most indifferent, are sometimes very important. We are either totally to submit to the authority of our ecclesiastical polity, or be entirely dispensed from it. It is not for us to determine what share of obedience we are to pay to it; and moreover, this I can say, as having myself formerly made tryal of it, that having used the liberty of chusing particularly for myself, being indifferent as to certain points of the discipline of our church, which to me seemed to have an aspect more vain, or more strange, coming after to discourse the matter, with some men of learning, I found that those very things had a substantial and very solid basis; and that it is nothing but brutality and ignorance which makes us receive them with less reverence than the rest. Why do we not recollect what contradiction we find in our own opinions? How many things were articles of faith yesterday, which to-day we treat as no other than fables? Vain glory and curiosity are the torments of our mind. This last prompts us to dive into affairs with which we have no concern, the former forbids us to leave any thing undetermined and undecided.

C H A P. XXVII. *Of Friendship.*

HAVING observed in what manner a painter who serves me, disposed of his workmanship, I had a fancy to imitate him. He chuses the fairest part and the middle of a wall or partition, wherein he places a picture which
he

he has finished, with the utmost care and art, and he fills up the void spaces that are about it, with grotesque figures, which are fanciful strokes of the pencil without any beauty but what they derive from their variety and Oddness. And in truth, what are these essays of mine but grotesques, and monstrous pieces of patch-work put together without any certain figure, or any order, connection or proportion, but what is accidental? as the mermaid.

*Definit piscem mulier formosa superne **.

Which a fair woman's face above doth show ;

But in a fish's tail doth end below.

In the latter part I go hand in hand with my painter, but fall very short of him in the former, and the better part, for I have not so much skill, as to pretend to give a fine picture performed according to art. I have therefore thought fit to borrow one from † Stephen de Boetius, which will be an honour to all the rest of this work. It is a discourse, which he has intitled ' *La Servitude volontaire*, ' i. e. voluntary slavery, but some who did not know what he intended by that title, have since, very properly given it another, viz. *Contre-un ‡*. It is a piece, which he wrote in his younger years, by way of essay, for the honour of liberty against tyrants. It has passed through the hands of men of the best understanding, with very great recommendations as it highly deserved, for it is elegantly writ, and as full as any thing can be on the Subject. Yet it may truly be said, that he was capable of a better performance; and if in that riper age, wherein I had the happiness to be acquainted with him, he had entered upon an undertaking like this of mine, to commit his fancies to writing, we should have seen many uncommon things, and such as would have gone very near to have rivalled the best writings of the ancients: For in this branch of natural endowments especially, I know no man comparable to him.

But

* *Hor. de Arte Poetica* v. 4.

† Yet it is not here, and why Montaigne has not inserted it, he tells us at the end of this chapter.

‡ This if I am not mistaken means a discourse against monarchy or government by one person alone, agreeably to what Montaigne says, at the end of this chapter, that if Boetius could have made his option, he would rather have been born at Venice, than at Sarlat.

But we have nothing of his left, save only this tract ; (and that even by chance, for I believe he never saw it after he let it go out of his hands) and some memoirs concerning that * edict of January, made famous by our civil wars, which perhaps may find a place elsewhere. This is all that I have been able to recover of what he has left behind him, (tho' with such an affectionate † remembrance on his death-bed, he did, by his will, bequeath his library and papers to me) except the little volume of his works, which I committed to the press ‡ ; and to which I am particularly obliged, because it was the introduction of our first acquaintance ; for it had been shewn to me, long before I knew his person, and as it gave me the first knowledge of his name ; it consequently laid the foundation of that friendship which we mutually cultivated, so long as it pleased God to spare his life, a friendship so intire, and so perfect, that certainly the like is hardly to be found in story, nor is there the least trace of it to be seen in the practice of the moderns : And indeed there must be such a concurrence of circumstances, to the perfecting of such a friendship, that it is very much if fortune brings it to pass once in three years.

There is nothing to which nature seems to have more inclined us than society : And Aristotle says, that the good legislators were more tender of friendship, than of justice. Now this is the utmost point of the perfection of society : For generally all those friendships, that are created and cultivated by pleasure, profit, publick or private necessity, are so much the less amiable and generous, and so much the less friendships, as they have another motive and design, and consequence, than pure friendship itself.

Neither are those four ancient kinds, viz. natural, social, hospitable and venerean, either separately or jointly correspondent with, or do they constitute true friendship. That of children to parents is rather respect ; friend-
ship

* It was issued in 1562, in the reign of Charles IX. yet a minor.

† See discourse upon the death of Stephen de la Boetius, composed by Montaigne, and published at the end of this edition.

‡ Printed at Paris by Frederick Morel in 1571. I shall speak of it more particularly in another place.

ship being nourished by a communication, which cannot be formed betwixt them, by reason of the too great disparity of age, and would perhaps violate the obligations of nature; for neither are all the secret thoughts of the parents communicable to their children, for fear of creating an unsuitable familiarity betwixt them, nor could admonitions and corrections, one of the principal offices of friendship, be exercised by children to their parents. There are some countries, where it is the custom for children to kill their fathers, and others where the fathers kill their children, to avoid their being sometimes an impediment to their designs, and naturally the hopes of the one, are founded in the destruction of the other. There have been philosophers who have despised this tie of nature *, witness Aristippus, who when he was seriously told of the affection he owed to his children, as they were descended from his loins, fell a spitting, and said, that, also came from him, and that we did likewise breed lice and worms: Witness another whom Plutarch endeavoured to reconcile with his brother, I make never the more account of him, said he, for coming out of the same hole †. This word brother, is indeed a fine sounding, and a most affectionate name: And for this reason Boetius and I stiled ourselves brothers ‡: But the jumble of interest, the division of estates, and the necessity that the wealth of the one, must be the impoverishment of the other; do wonderfully dissolve and relax this fraternal cement. When brothers seek their way to preferment by the same path or channel, it is hardly possible but they must often jostle and hinder one another. Moreover, why is it necessary that the correspondence and relation, which creates such true and perfect friendship, should be found in kindred. The father and the son, may happen to be of a quite contrary disposition,

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Aristippus, lib. ii. sect. 81.

† In Plutarch's treatise of brotherly love, ch. 4.

‡ That is to say, that, according to the usage established in Montaigne's time, they gave one another the stile of brothers, as it was to be the token and pledge of the friendship which they had contracted. And upon the same principles, Mademoiselle de Gourvay, stiled herself Montaigne's daughter, and not because Montaigne married her mother, as I have heard it affirmed in good company.

position, and so may brothers. This is my son: This is my father but he is passionate, a knave, or a fool. And then, the more these friendships are required of us, by law and the obligations of nature; so much the less is there in them of our own choice, and voluntary freedom: And indeed our free will has no production, more properly its own, than that of affection and friendship: Not that I have not myself experienced all that is possible in this respect, having had the best of fathers, who was also the most indulgent even to extream old age, and descended of a family, for many generations famous and exemplary for this brotherly concord:

— Et ipse

*Notus in fratres animi Paterni **.

And I myself was known to prove

A father in fraternal love.

As for the love we bear to women, tho' it arises from our own choice, we are not to bring it into comparison, or rank it with the others. Its fire, I confess,

(Neque enim est Dea nescia nostri

Quæ dulcem curis, miscet amaritiem †) i. e.

(Nor is my goddess ignorant what I am

Who pleasing anguish mixes with my Flame.)

is more active, more eager and sharper; but withal it is more precipitant and fickle, wavering and variable: A fever subject to paroxysms, and intermission, that is confined to only one corner of our fabrick; whereas in friendship, it is one general and universal heat, but temperate and equal; a heat that is constant and settled, all easy and smooth, without any particle, that is rough and poignant. Moreover in love there is nothing more than a frantick desire, of what flies from us.

Com segue la lepre ill cacciatore

Al freddo, al caldo, alla montagna, al litto:

Ne piu l' estima poi, che presa vede,

Et sol dietro à chi fugge affretta il piede †. i. e.

Like hunters that the flying hare pursue

O'er hills and dales, thro' heat and morning dew,

Which being caught, the quarry they despise;

Being only pleas'd in following that which flies.

VOL. I.

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As

* Horat. lib. ii. ode 2.

† Catullus Ep. 66.

‡ Ariosto Cant. x. Stanz. 7.

As soon as ever love has contracted articles of amity, that is to say, as soon as there is a concurrence of desires, it languishes and vanishes, for fruition destroys it, as having only a carnal appetite, and such a one as is subject to satiety. Friendship, on the contrary, is enjoyed in proportion as it is desired, and it only grows up, thrives and increases by enjoyment, as being of itself spiritual, and the soul is refined by the very practice of it. With this perfect friendship, I cannot deny but that those wavering affections have formerly found some place in my breast, not to say a word of my friend Boetius, who confesses but too much of it in his verses. Consequently both these passions have taken possession of me, but so that I knew the one from the other, and never set them on a par, the first soaring aloft with majesty, and looking down with disdain on the latter, stretching its pinions far below it.

As to marriage, besides its being a covenant, the entrance into which is altogether free, but the continuance in it forced and compulsory, and having another dependence than on that of our own free will, and it being also a contract commonly made for other ends, there are a thousand intricacies in it to unravel, enough to break the thread, and interrupt the current of a lively affection, whereas in friendship, there is no commerce or transaction, but within itself.

Moreover, to say the truth, the ordinary talent of women, is not such as is sufficient to keep up that correspondence and communication, which are necessary for cultivating this sacred tie; nor do they seem to be endued with that constancy of mind, to bear the constraint of so hard and durable a knot. And really if, without this, there could be such a free and voluntary familiarity contracted, where not only the soul might have this intire fruition, but the body also might share in the alliance, and the whole man be engaged in it, it is certain that the friendship would be more intire and compleat by it; but there is no instance that this sex ever yet attained to such perfection, and by the ancient schools, it is denied it ever can.

And that other Grecian licence is justly abhorred by our moralists, which, however, for having according

to their practice so necessary a disparity of age, and difference of offices betwixt the lovers, bears no more proportion than the other, to the perfect union and harmony that is here required. ‘*Quis est enim iste amor amicitiae? Cur neque deformem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque formosum senem**?’ i. e. For what means this love of friendship? How comes it to pass that no body loves a deformed youth, or a handsome old man? Neither do I conceive that the picture which the academy gives of it, will be a contradiction to my assertion, that the first fury inspired by the son of *Venus* into the heart of the lover, upon the sight of blooming youth, to which they allow all the insolent and passionate efforts that an immoderate ardour can produce, was singly founded on an external beauty, the false image of corporeal generation; for it could not be founded on the Mind which was yet undiscoverable, being but now springing forth, and not of maturity to blossom: Which fury if it seized upon a mean spirit, the objects of its pursuit, were riches, presents, preferments, and such sorry goods, as they by no means approve: But if this fury tell upon a more generous soul, the means used were also generous, such as philosophical instructions, precepts to revere religion, to obey the laws, to die for the good of one’s country, to give instances of valour, prudence and justice; the lover studying to render himself agreeable by the grace and beauty of his mind, that of his body being long ago decayed, and hoping by this mental society to establish a more firm and lasting contract. When this courtship had had its effect in its due season, (for what they do not require in the lover, namely, that he should take time and use discretion in his courtship, they strictly require in the person loved; forasmuch as he is under a necessity to judge of internal beauty, difficult to know and discover) then there sprung up in the person beloved, a desire of spiritual conception, by the intervention of a spiritual beauty. This was the principal: The corporeal, accidental, and second causes, are all the reverse or wrong side of the lover. For this reason they prefer the person loved, prove that the Gods do the same, and

K 2

highly

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 33.

highly blame the poet Æschylus, for having, in the amours of Achilles and Patroclus, given the lover's part to Achilles, who was in the first flower and pubescency of youth, and the handsomest of all the Greeks. This general familiarity being once settled, supposing its most worthy proof to be predominant and to perform its proper offices, they say, that from thence great benefit accrued, both to private persons and the publick, that it was the strength of those countries, which admitted the practice of it; the chief defence of justice and liberty. Witness the salutiferous amours of Harmonius and Aristogiton. They therefore call it sacred and divine, and think that it has no enemy, but the violence of tyrants, and the cowardice of the common people. In short, all that can be allowed in favour of the academy, is to say, that it was an amour, which terminated in friendship; and this also agrees well enough with the stoical definition of love. 'Amorem conatum esse amicitiae faciendæ ex pulchritudinis specie *.' i. e. That love is an endeavour of contracting friendship by the splendor of beauty.

I return to my definition of a species of friendship that is juster and more uniform, than what has been mentioned. 'Omnino amicitiae, corroboratis jam con- firmatis ingeniis, & ætatibus, judicandæ sunt †.' i. e. There is no judging of friendship till the persons are arrived to the maturity of years and understanding. As for the rest, what we commonly call friends, and friendships, are but acquaintances contracted, either occasionally or for some advantage, by means of which there happens an agreement of our minds: But in the friendship I am treating of, our souls mingle and interweave themselves one with another so universally, that there is no more sign of the cement, by which they were first joined together. If I am pressed to give a reason why I loved him, I find it cannot be expressed otherwise, than by saying, 'Because it was he: Because it was I.' There was, I know not what unaccountable power of destiny, that brought about this union, beyond all that I can say in general or particular. We sought for, before we saw each other by the characters we heard one
of

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv c. 34.

† Cic. de Amicitia c. 20.

of another which wrought more upon our affections, than, in reason, mere reports should do. I think, by some secret appointment of Heaven, we loved to hear each other named. At our first meeting which was accidental at a city feast, we were all at once so taken with each other, so well acquainted, and so mutually obliging, that from thence-forward nothing was so dear to us as the one to the other. He wrote an excellent Latin satire, which is published, wherein he excuses and * accounts for the suddenness of our acquaintance, and its being so soon brought to maturity. He said, that it being like to have so short a continuance, as it was contracted so late in life, (for we were both full grown men, and he the oldest by a year or two) there was no time to lose; nor was it to be regulated by the pattern of those effeminate and formal friendships, that require so many precautions of a long preliminary conversation.

This is no other Idea, than that of itself: And can have no relation but to itself. It is not one particular consideration, nor two, nor three, nor four, nor a thousand. It is I know not what quintessence of all this mixture, which, having engrossed my whole will, carried it to be plunged and absorbed in his; and which having engrossed all his will, brought it back with the like appetite and concurrence, to be plunged and absorbed in mine. I may truly say absorbed, having reserved nothing to ourselves that was our own, or that was either his or mine. When Lælius, in presence of the Roman consuls (who, after they had condemned Tiberius Gracchus, prosecuted all those who had held a correspondence with him) came to ask Caius Blossius, who was his chief friend, 'what he would have done for him?' And that he made answer, 'Every thing.' 'How! every thing!' continued he: 'And what if he had commanded thee to set fire to our temples?' 'He would never have laid that command on me,' replied Blossius: 'But what if he had?' said Lælius: 'Why, if he had, said the other, I would have obeyed him.' If he was so perfect a friend to Gracchus as the histories

K 3

report

* See Plutarch in the life of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, ch. 5. Valer. Max. lib. iv. c. 7. in exemplis Romanis, sect. 1.

report him to have been, he was under no necessity of offending the consuls by such a bold confession as the last, and might still have retained the assurance he had of Gracchus's good will. Nevertheless they who accuse this as a seditious answer, do not well understand this mystery, nor presuppose what is a fact; that he was now master of Gracchus's will, both by the power of a friend, and the knowledge he had of the man. They were more friends than citizens, and more friends to one another than either friends or enemies to their country, or than friends to ambition and disturbance. Having absolutely resigned themselves to one another, each perfectly held the reins of the other's inclination, which also they governed by virtue, and guided by reason, (without which it were altogether impossible to draw in the harness) Blossius's answer, was such as it ought to have been. If either acted hand over head, they were not friends according to my notion, either one to the other, or to their own dear selves. As for the rest, this answer carries no worse sound than mine would do, if any one should ask me, if my will commanded me to kill my daughter, would I kill her; and I should make answer that I would; for this carries no evidence of consent to do it. Because I do not in the least suspect my own will, and as little that of such a friend. It is not in the power of all the arguments in the world, to dispossess me of the certainty I have of the intentions and opinions of my friend; nay, no one action of his, what face soever it might bear, could be represented to me, of which I could not immediately discover the motive. Our souls have kept so even a pace together, and we have with such a fervent affection laid open the very bottom of our hearts to one another's view, that I not only know his as well as I do my own, but should certainly much rather trust my interest with him, than with myself.

Let no one therefore rank other common friendships with such a one as this. Of those I have had as much experience as any one, and of the most perfect too of their kind: But I am not for confounding the rules of the one with the other, which whoever should be guilty of would find himself deceived. In those other ordinary friend-

friendships, a man must act with great prudence, precaution and circumspection, the knot of such friendships being not so strong, that a man can be sure it will not slip: 'Love him, said Chilon * as, if you were one day to hate him; and hate him as if you were one day to love him.' This precept tho' so abominable in the sovereign friendship I am treating of, is of service in the practice of the ordinary common friendships, to which may most justly be applied an exclamation often used by Aristotle †, viz ὦ φίλοι, ἔδδεις φίλος, i. e. O my friends! there is no friend!

In this sublime state of friendship, so hearty is the concurrence of our wills, that the offices and benefits, which are the support of the inferior class of friendships, do not deserve so much as to be mentioned here; for in the very same manner as the friendship I bear to myself receives no increase, whatever I relieve myself withal in a case of necessity (say the Stoicks, what they will) and as I do not find myself obliged to myself, for the service I do to myself: So the union of such friends being truly perfect, makes them insensible of such obligations and causes them to loath and banish from their conversation, the words, 'Benefit, obligation, acknowledgment, intreaty, thanks,' and the like terms of distinction and difference. Every thing being in effect common between them; as thoughts, judgments, estates, wives, children, honour and life, and their agreement being as intire as if it was but one soul in two bodies, they cannot be said according to Aristotle's very proper definition ‡, either to lend or give any thing to one another. This is the very reason why the legislators, to honour marriage with some imaginary resemblance of this divine union, prohibit all gifts between the

K 4

husband

* In Aulus Gellius lib. i. c. 3. Diogenes Laertius in the life of Bias, attributes this saying to that wise man, lib. i. sect. 7. as Aristotle had done before, in his rhetorick lib. ii. c. 13. where we read the second article, viz. 'That a man should be hated, as if some day hereafter he should be loved,' which is not in Diogenes Laertius. As to the first article 'that a man should only be loved as if he were some day to be hated,' Cicero says, that he cannot imagine such an expression came from Bias, one of the seven wise men. De Amicitia c. 16.

† Diog. Laert. in the life of Aristotle lib. v. sect. 21.

‡ Diog. Laert. in the life of Aristotle lib. v. sect. 20.

husband and wife, by which they would have it inferred, that all they both had, ought to be the property of each ; and that they have nothing of which to make a separate dividend.

If in the friendship of which I treat, the one could give to the other, he who received the favour, would hereby lay his companion under the obligation : For each of them seeking above all things to be useful to one another, he that furnishes the matter and the occasion, is the liberal man, in giving his friend the satisfaction of doing that for him, which he does most desire. When the philosopher Diogenes wanted money, he said, ' that he re-demanded it of his friends, and ' not demanded it *.' And to let you see a full proof of this practice, I will here relate an instance of it in ancient history, which is very singular. Eudamidas, a Corinthian, who was a poor man, had two friends who were wealthy, viz. Charixenus a Syconian, and Aretheus a Corinthian ; to whom, on his death-bed, he left these legacies, by his last will and testament, viz †. ' I leave ' it to Aretheus to keep my mother and to maintain her ' in her old age ; to Charixenus to provide a husband ' for my daughter, and to give her as good a portion ' as he can, and in case one of these friends happens to ' die, I substitute the survivor in his place.' They who first saw this will, made themselves very merry with it, but his executors being made acquainted with it accepted of the trust with a particular pleasure : And one of them, viz. Charixenus, dying within five days after, Aretheus, on whom the charge of both thereby devolved, took special care of the mother, and, of five talents, which he had in bank, he gave two and a half in marriage with an only daughter he had of his own, and the other two and a half in marriage with the daughter of Eudamidas whose nuptials were both solemnized on the same day.

This instance is very full, to the point, were it not for one objection, viz. the number of friends. For the perfect friendship whereof I am speaking is indivisible. Each of the two gives himself up so intirely to his friend

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Diogenes the Cynick, lib. vi. sect 46.

† This instance is taken from a dialogue of Lucian intitled *Texaris*.

friend, that he has nothing left to dispose of elsewhere. On the contrary, he is sorry, that he is not double, treble, or quadruple, and that he has not a plurality of souls and of wills, to confer them all upon this subject.

As for the ordinary friendships, they are divisible. One may love the beauty of this, the courtesy of that person, the liberality of a third, the paternal affection of one, the brotherly love of another, and so of the rest; but as for this friendship which engrosses the whole soul, and governs it with absolute sway, it is impossible it should be twofold. If two at the same time should call on you for help, to which of them would you run? If they desired contrary offices of you, how would you order it? Should the one charge you with the keeping of a secret, which it was proper they both should know, how would you come off?

The friendship in which is of the singular and sovereign kind, dissolves all other obligations. The secret which I have sworn not to reveal to another, I may without perjury communicate to him who is not another, but myself. It is miraculous enough, for a man to double himself, but they who talk of trebling themselves, know not what they say. Nothing is extreme that has its like. And whoever presupposes, that of two persons, I love one as much as the other, and that they mutually love one another, and love me as much as I love them, he multiplies into a fraternity, the greatest and most single of units, of which one alone is also the rarest thing in the world to find. The remaining part of this story agrees very well with what I was saying; for Eudamidas as a grace and favour to his friends, employs them in his necessity, and leaves them heirs to this liberality of his, which consists in giving them an opportunity of doing him a good office. And, without doubt, the power of friendship is more eminently apparent in this action of his, than in that of Aretheus. In fine, these are effects not to be imagined by such as have not had experience of them, and therefore I highly honour the answer of the young soldier to Cyrus, who when he asked him what he would take for a horse, with which he had just won the prize at a race, and whether

he would exchange him for a kingdom? 'No, truly sir,' said he, 'but I would freely part with him, to gain a friend, could I find a man worthy of such a relation.' He was right enough in saying, 'could I find,' for tho' it is an easy matter to find persons qualified for a superficial acquaintance, yet, in such a league of friendship as this *, wherein the Negotiation is carried on from the very bottom of the heart, without any reserve, it is requisite that all the springs and movements of it should be clear and perfectly sure.

In confederacies which hold but by one end, or have but one point to serve, there needs nothing more than to make provision for the imperfections, which particularly concern that end. It can be of no moment what religion my physician is of, or my lawyer, this being a consideration quite foreign to the offices of friendship which they owe me.

And I am altogether as indifferent to my domestick acquaintance with my servants: I am not so inquisitive to know whether my footman, be chaste, as whether he be diligent, and am not so much in fear that my chairman is a gamester, as that he is weak, or my cook a swearer, as that he is ignorant. I do not take upon me to dictate what others should do; there are enough that are guilty of this. I only give an account of what I do in my own house.

Mibi sic usus est: Tibi, ut opus est facto, face †. i. e.

This has my practice been; but thou may'st do,

What interest or pleasure prompts thee to.

In table-talk, I prefer the merry man before the wise one; in bed, beauty before goodness; and in common conversation, the most able speaker, even tho' he does not always mean what he says; and so of other things. If he that was found riding on a ‡ hobby-horse, at play with his children, desired the man who surprized him at it, to say nothing of the matter till he came to be a father himself, imagining, that the passion of fondness, which would then arise in his soul, would render him a

more

* Cyropædia lib. viii. c. 3. sect. 11, 12.

† Terence Heaut. act. 1. scene 1. v. 28.

‡ It was Agefilans who was found playing thus with his children. Plutarch in the life of Agefilans, c. 9.

more proper judge of such an action; so I would wish to be read by such as have had experience of what I say; but knowing how different such friendship is from the way of the world, and how hard it is to be found, I do not expect to meet with any person qualified to be a judge of the thing. For even those discourses left us on this subject by the ancients, are flat and languid, according to my notion of the matter. And in this point the effects surpass the precepts of philosophy.

*Nilego contulerim jucunda sanus amico * . i. e.*

I know no pleasure that can health attend,
Equal to that of a facetious friend.

Menander † pronounced that man happy who had the good fortune to meet with the 'shadow of a friend:' And indeed he had good reason for saying so, if he spoke by experience. For, in truth, if I compare all the rest of my life, tho', God be thanked, I have always lived easy and pleasant, and (excepting the loss of such a friend) exempt from any grievous affliction, and in great tranquillity of mind, having been contented with my natural and original conveniencies, without being solicitous for others, if I compare it all, I say, to those four years that I had the enjoyment of the sweet conversation of this excellent man, it is all but smoke, and one dark tedious night. From the day that I lost him

— *Quem semper acerbum,*

Semper honoratum (sic dii voluisti) habebō ‡.

Which since 'tis Heav'n's decree, tho' too severe,
I shall lament, but ever shall revere.

I have only languished in life and the very pleasures that present themselves to me, instead of comforting me, double my affliction for the loss of him. We were half sharers in every thing; and, methinks, by outliving him, I defraud him of his share.

§ *Nec jus esse ulla me voluptate hic frui*

Decrevi, tantisper dum ille abest meus particeps || . i. e.

And

* Hor. lib. i. sat. 5. v. 44.

† Plutarch, in his tract of brotherly love, ch. 3.

‡ Virg. Æneid. lib. v. 49, 50.

§ Montaigne has here made some little variation in Terence's words, for the sake of applying them to his subject.

|| Terence

Heaut. act. i. scene i. v. 97, 98.

And this against myself I have decreed,
Nothing of pleasure ought my soul to feed,
Whilst he is absent from my dear embrace,
Who in all joys my dear copartner was.

I was actually so constituted, and so accustomed to be
his second part at all times and places, that, methinks,
I have but one half of myself left.

*Ab! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec charus æque, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam* * . i. e.

Should you, alas! be snatch'd away,
Wherefore, ah! wherefore should I stay?
My comfort lost, myself not whole,
And but possessing half my soul!
One fatal day shall seize on both.

There is no action or imagination of mine wherein I do
not miss him, as much as if he had been really created
for me; for as he infinitely surpassed me in virtue, and
every other accomplishment, he also did the same in the
devoirs of friendship.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus
Tam chari capitis* †.

Why shou'd we stop the flowing tear?
Why blush to weep for one so dear?
O misero, frater adempte, mihi!

*Omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
Quæ tuus in vita, dulcis alebat amor,
Tu mea, tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater,
Tecum una tota est nostra sepulta anima.*

*Cujus ego interitu tota de mente fugavi
Hæc studia, atque omnes delicias animi.*

*Alloquor? audiero nunquam tua verba loquentem?
Nunquam ego te vita, frater amabilior,
Aspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo* † . i. e.

Ah! brother, what a life did I commence,
From that sad day when thou wast snatch'd from
hence!

Those

* Hor. lib. ii. ode xvii. v. 5, &c.
v. 1, 2.

† Catullus, Carm. lxxvi.

† Hor. lib. i. ode xxiv.

Those joys are gone which, while thou tarry'dst here,

By thy reviving converse nourish'd were.

With thee departing, my good fortune fled,

And all my soul with thee was buried ;

The muses at thy fun'ral I forsook,

And of all joy my leave for ever took.

Dearer than life! am I so wretched then,

Never to hear, or speak to thee again ?

Nor see those lips, now frozen up by death?

Yet I will love thee to my latest breath!

But let us hear a little what this lad of sixteen years of age says; ' Having discovered that those memoirs upon the famous edict of January, (mentioned towards the beginning of this chapter) are already printed, and with a bad design by some, who make it their business to molest, and to subvert the state of our government, not caring whether they amend it or no, and that they have published it in a miscellany of other pieces of their own writing, I desisted from my design of inserting it here. And to the end that the memory of the author may not suffer with such as were not intimate enough with him to have a thorough knowledge of his opinions and his performances, I hereby give them to understand, that this subject was treated by him in his youth and that, only by way of exercising his genius, it being a common subject that has been canvassed by writers in a thousand places. I make no doubt but he himself believed what he writ, being so very conscientious that he would not be guilty of telling a lie, even in jest; and I know, moreover, that if it had been put to his choice, that he had rather have been born at Venice, than at Scarlac, and he had reason. But he had another maxim deeply imprinted in his mind, very religiously to obey and submit to the laws under which he was born. There never was a better subject, nor a greater well-wisher to the tranquillity of his country, nor one that more opposed the commotions and innovations of the time he lived in, so that he would much rather have employed his talents to suppress them, than to have inflamed them

‘ them more ; for he had a mind formed after the model
 ‘ of other times than these. Now, in exchange for this
 ‘ serious piece, I will present you with another that is
 ‘ more gay and airy, written by the same hand, at the
 ‘ same age.’

CHAP. XXVIII. *A letter to madame de Grammont,
 countess of Guissen, with twenty-nine sonnets.*

MADAME, I offer to your ladyship nothing of mine, either because it is already yours, or because I find nothing of my writing worthy of you : But I was desirous that these verses, into what part of the world soever they travel, may carry your name in the front, for the honour that will accrue to them, by having the great Corisanda de Andonis for their guide. I conceive this present, madame, the more proper for you, forasmuch as there are but few ladies in France who have a better taste of poetry, and make a better use of it than you, and none who can give it that life and spirit which your ladyship does, by that sweet and graceful melody in your voice, of which, among a million of other charms, nature has made you a present. These verses, madam, are worthy of your patronage, and I dare say, you will be of my opinion, that Gascony never yielded any that had more imagination, and elegance, or that carry the marks of a more copious fancy. And do not be jealous that you have but the remainder of what I published under the patronage of M. de Foix, your worthy kinsman ; for, verily, these have something in them of more life and fire, forasmuch as he wrote them in his greener years, and when he was inflamed with a certain noble ardour, which, one day or other, I will whisper in your ear. The others were writ afterwards, when he was making courtship to his wife, and favouring already of a certain matrimonial coldness. And, for my part, I am of the same opinion with those who think that poetry appears no where so gay, as it does on a wanton and irregular subject. These twenty-nine sonnets of Stephen de Boetius, which were inserted
 in

in this Letter formerly *, have since been printed with his works.

C H A P. XXIX. Of Moderation.

THINGS which are in themselves fair and good, are liable to be spoilt by our handling, as if there was something infectious in our very touch. Virtue itself will become vice, if we clasp it with a desire too eager and violent. As for saying that there is never any excess of virtue, because it is no longer virtue, if there be excess in it, it is meer playing upon words.

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,

Ultra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam †. i. e.

The wise for mad, the just for unjust pass,

If more than need, e'en virtue they embrace.

This is a subtle consideration in philosophy. A man may both be too much in love with virtue, and carry himself to excess in a just action. Holy writ agrees with this way of thinking. St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, ch. xii. v. 3. 'No man should think of himself more highly than he ought, but think soberly.' I knew a great man who blemished his reputation for religion, by making a shew of greater devotion than all men of his condition †. I love natures that are temperate, and between the extremes.

An

* They are inserted in Abel Angelier's quarto edition, printed at Paris in 1588. I do not swell this edition with them, because I do not find any thing in them that is very affecting; for they scarce contain any thing in them but amorous complaints expressed in a very rough stile, discovering the follies and outrages of a restless passion, overgorged, as it were, with jealousies, fears, and suspicions.

† Hor. lib. i. ep. 6.

‡ It is like, that Montaigne meant Henry III. king of France. The cardinal d'Ossat, writing to Louisa, his queen dowager, told her, in his frank manner, that he had lived as much, or more, like a monk than a monarch. Letter xxiii. And Sextus Quintus, speaking of that prince one day to the cardinal de Joyeuse, protector of the affairs of France, said to him pleasantly, 'There is nothing that your king hath not done, and does not do still, to be a monk, nor any thing that I have not done not to be a monk.' See the note by Amelot de la Houssaye upon the words of the cardinal d'Ossat just now

men-

An immoderate zeal, even for that which is good, tho' it does not offend me, astonishes me; and I really am at a loss what name to give it. Neither the mother of Pausanias *, who first pointed out the way, and laid the first stone for the destruction of her son; nor the dictator Posthumius, who put his son to death, whom the heat of youthful blood had push'd with success upon the enemy a little before the other soldiers of his rank †; neither of these instances, I say, seem to me so just, as they are strange; and I should not like either to advise, or imitate a virtue, so savage, and so expensive. The archer that shoots beyond the mark, misses it as much

as mentioned, p. 74, tom. I. of the cardinal d'Ossat's letters, published at Paris in 1698.

* Montaigne would here give us to understand, upon the authority of Diodorus of Sicily, that Pausanias's mother gave the first hint of the punishment that was to be inflicted on her son. Pausanias, says this historian, perceiving that the Ephori, and some other Lacedæmonians aimed at apprehending him, got the start of them, and went and took sanctuary in Minerva's temple: And the Lacedæmonians, being doubtful whether they ought to take him from thence in violation of the franchise there, it is said, that his own mother came herself to the temple, but said, nor did any thing there, more than laying a piece of brick, which she brought with her, on the threshold of the temple; which, when she had done, she returned home. The Lacedæmonians, taking the hint from the mother, caused the gate of the temple to be walled up, and by this means starved Pausanias, so that he died with hunger, &c. lib. xi. ch. 10. of Amyot's translation. The name of Pausanias's mother was Alcithæa, as we are informed by Thucydides's scholiast, who only says, that it was reported, that when they sat about walling up the gates of the chapel in which Pausanias had taken refuge, his mother Alcithæa laid the first stone.

† Opinions differ as to the truth of this fact. Titus Livy thinks he has good authority for rejecting it because it does not appear in history that Posthumius was branded with it, as Titus Manlius was, about 100 years after his time: For Manlius having put his son to death for the like cause, obtained the odious name of Imperiosus, and since that time Manliana Imperia, has been used as a term to signify orders that are too severe; Manliana Imperia, says Titus Livy, were not only horrible for the time present, but of a bad example to posterity. And this historian makes no doubt but such commands would have been actually stiled Posthumiana Imperia, if Posthumius had been the first who set so barbarous an example, Titus Livy, lib. iv. c. 29. and lib. viii. c. 7. But, however, Montaigne has Valerius Maximus on his side, who says, expressly that Posthumius caused his son to be put to death, lib. ii. c. 766. and Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xii. c. 79.

as he that comes short of it. And it offends my sight as much to lift up my eyes, on a sudden, towards a great light, as to cast them down to a dark cavern. Callicles, in Plato, says, that the extremity of philosophy is hurtful, and advises not to dive deeper into it than what may turn to good account; That, taken with moderation, it is pleasant and profitable, but in the extreme it renders a man brutish and vicious, a contemner of religion, and the common laws, an enemy to civil conversation, and all human pleasures, incapable of all political administration, and of assisting others, or even himself, and a fit object to be buffeted with impunity. And he says true; for in its excess it enslaves our natural liberty, and, by an impertinent curiosity, leads us out of the fair and smooth path, which has been planned out for us by nature.

Tho' the love we bear to our wives is very lawful, yet divinity curbs and restrains it. I think I have formerly met with a passage in St. Thomas Aquinas, where he condemns marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, for this, among other reasons, viz. the danger there is lest the love a husband bears to such a wife should be immoderate; for if the conjugal affection be as entire and perfect as it ought, and it be increased, moreover, by that which is due to consanguinity, there is no doubt but such an addition would carry the husband beyond the bounds of reason.

The sciences which regulate the manners of mankind, viz. theology and philosophy dictate in every thing. There is no action be it ever so private and secret, that can escape their cognisance and jurisdiction. This liberty assumed by philosophy and theology *, is what none but the ignorant and the vulgar take it in their heads to find fault with: And in this, they are like the wives who expose their parts freely enough to their gallants, but are shy of discovering them to the phy-

* If this be the sense of Montaigne's words, as I think it to be, Mr. Cotton's English translation of it, has very much mistaken it, where he says, 'But they are best taught, who are best able to censure and curb their own liberty.' This is a construction which does not tally at all with what goes before, and much less with what follows.

physician or the surgeon. I will * therefore on the part of philosophy and divinity, give this lesson to the husbands, if such there be who are too libidinous in the conjugal state, viz. That the very pleasures they enjoy in their converse with their wives, are blameable if immoderate, and that a licentious and intemperate abuse of it is as great an error with a legitimate subject, as with one that is illegitimate. As for the immodest caresses which the first ardour suggests to us in this affair, there is not only an indecency in employing them with our wives, but a detriment. Let them at least learn impudence from another hand. They are always alert enough for our occasions. The instruction I have made use of is perfectly natural and plain.

Marriage is a solemn and sacred tie : Therefore the pleasure we extract from it, should be temperate and serious with a mixture of gravity. It ought to be a pleasure in some sort discreet and conscientious.

And because the chief end of it is generation, it is a matter of doubt with some people, whether when we are in no hopes of issue, as when women are past the age of child-bearing, or when they are actually pregnant, it is lawful to court their embraces. It is homicide, according to Plato, (*de legibus lib. viii. p. 912. C. Francofurti, apud Claudium Maraium, &c. anno. 1602*) certain nations (and particularly the Mahometans) abominate conjunction with women that are already with child: And many also with those that are in the menstruous terms.

Zenobia would never admit her husband for more than one encounter, after which she left him to take his range abroad, during the whole time of her conception, and only allowed him to come to her bed again after she was delivered. A noble † and generous example this, in the married state ‡ ! It must certainly be from some

* Here the English translator is likewise mistaken, where he says, "I will on the behalf of the wives teach the husband &c." Few wives would think themselves obliged to thank Montaigne, for such a lesson to their husbands.

† Montaigne has taken this passage from Trebellius Pollio's Zenobia, p. 199. hist. August.

‡ Plutarch in his matrimonial precepts, sect. 14.

some poor but very lascivious poet, that Plato * borrow-
ed the following story, viz. That Jupiter was one day
so hot upon his wife, that not having patience to stay till
she was in bed, he threw her down upon the floor,
where, so vehement was his pleasure, that he forgot the
great and important resolutions which he had just en-
tered into with the other Gods, in his celestial court,
and boasted that he had as much pleasure in that bout,
as when he first got her maiden-head unknown to their
parents.

The Persian monarchs invited their wives to their
feasts, but when the wine began to operate in good
earnest, and that they could not help giving a loote to
pleasure, they sent them back to their private apart-
ments, that they might not participate in their immo-
derate lust, and sent for other women in their stead, to
whom they were not obliged to pay so much respect.
All pleasures and gratifications, do not suit all persons.
Epaminondas having caused a debauched youth to be
imprisoned, Pelopidas begged that for his sake, he would
grant him his liberty †. He refused the favour to Pe-
lopidas, but granted it at the first word, to a wench of
his who made the same intercession, saying, ' that it
' was a gratification due to a mistress, but not to a cap-
' tain.' Sophocles passing along by accident cried out
' Oh ! what a delicate boy is that,' whereupon Pericles
said to him, this would do well for any body but a prætor,
who ought not only to have clean hands, but chaste
eyes ‡.

Ælius Verus, the emperor, when his empress re-
proached him with his love to other women, told her
that a principle of conscience was his motive for it,
forasmuch as marriage was a state of § honour and dig-
nity,

* Montaigne here ridicules Homer without thinking of it, for this
fiction is undoubtedly taken from the Iliad, lib. xiv. v. 191—353.
See Plato's republick, lib. iii. 433. printed at Lyons by William
Leemar, in 1590. If Montaigne had looked into Homer, he would
not have been so mistaken as he has been in some circumstances of
this affair.

† Plutarch in his instructions to those who manage state affairs, c.
9 Amyot's translation.

‡ Cic. de offic. lib. i. c. 40. § Ælij Spartiani Ælius Verus p.
15. 16. hist. August. in folio, printed at Paris, anno 1620.

nity, and not of toying and lascivious concupiscence. And our church historians hold the memory of that wife in great veneration, who parted with her husband, rather than comply with and bear his indecent and inordinate dalliances. In short, there is no pleasure how justifiable soever, wherein we are not blameable for taking it with excess and intemperance.

But to speak the truth, is not man a wretched animal. It is scarce, in his power, by his state of nature to taste a single pleasure pure and intire; and yet he is labouring for arguments, to curtail that imperfect pleasure he has: He is not yet wretched enough, unless by art and study he increases his own misery.

Fortunæ miseras auximus arte vias *. i. e.

We with misfortune 'gainst ourselves take part,
And our sad destiny increase by art.

Human wisdom makes a very foolish use of its talents, by exercising them in abating the number and relish of those pleasures which we have a right to, as on the other hand it acts favourably and industriously in employing its skill, to put a gloss and disguise upon the misfortunes of life, to alleviate the sense of them. Had I been the chief manager, I should have taken another more natural course, which, to say the truth, is convenient and sacred, and perhaps, I should have been able to set limits to it; altho' our physicians, both spiritual and temporal, as if they had combined together, can find no other method of cure, or remedy for the diseases of the body and soul, than by torment, sorrow and pain. To this end watchings, fastings, penances, far distant and solitary banishments, perpetual imprisonments, scourgings, and other afflictions, have been introduced into the world: Yea, and on such a condition, that they should be real afflictions and carry a sting in their tails, and that the consequence thereof should not be as happened to one Gallio †, who having been banished to the isle of Lesbos, news was brought to Rome, that he lived as merry there as the day was long, and that his banishment did not prove his punishment

* Propert. lib. iii. eleg. 2. v. 32.

† A Roman senator banished for having offended Tiberius, as may be seen in Tacit. annals, lib. vi. c. 3.

ment but his pleasure : For this reason * they thought fit to recal him to his wife and family, and confined him to his own house, to make him more sensible of their punishments. For to the person whom fasting would make more healthful and sprightly, and to whose palate fish would be more agreeable than flesh, the prescription of either, medicinally, would be of no salutary effect, no more than drugs in the other sort of physick, which have no effect with him who takes them with an appetite and pleasure. The bitterness of the potion, and the aversion of the patient to it, are circumstances that conduce to the operation. Rhubarb itself would be of no virtue to the constitution which is used to it. It must be something which offends the stomach, that must cure it : And here the common rule, that things are cured by their contraries, fails ; for in this, one evil is cured by another.

This notion has some resemblance with that so universally embraced anciently by all religious and sects, that massacre and homicide were acceptable to the Gods and to nature. Even in the time of our forefathers, Amurath sacrificed 600 young Greeks to the manes of his father, with a view that their blood might serve as a propitiatory atonement for the sins of his deceased parent.

And in those new countries discovered in this age of ours, which are pure as yet, and virgins, in comparison of ours, this practice is in some degree received every where. All their idols reek with human blood, not without sundry examples of horrid cruelty. Some they put alive into a fire, and take them half roasted out of it, to tear out their hearts and bowels : Others, even women, they flea alive, and put their bloody skins on the bodies of others. And there are great instances among them of constancy and resolution. For these poor victims, old men, women, and children, go out some days before, to beg alms for the offering of their sacrifice, and present themselves to the slaughter, singing and dancing.

The

* According to Tacitus, he was recalled to Rome, to be kept there in the custody of the magistrates, *ibid.*

The king of Mexico's ambaffador representing the great power of their mafter to Fernando Cortez, after having told him that he had 30 vaffals, each of whom could affemble 100,000 fighting men, and that he kept his court in the faireft and beft fortified city under the fun, added that he had 50000 men to fpare, every year, for a facrifice to the Gods. They actually affirm that he maintained a war with fome great neighbouring nations, not only for the exercife of the youths of the country, but chiefly to have prifoners of war enough for his facrifices.

At a certain town moreover they facrificed 50 men at one time for the welcome of Cortez, to which I will add this ftory. Some of thefe nations being defeated by him, fent to compliment him and to court his friendfhip; and the melfenger carried him three forts of prefents, which they delivered him in this manner. Behold, lord, here are five flaves: If thou art a fierce God whole diet is flefh and blood, eat thefe, and we will bring thee more. If thou art a gracious God, here are plumes of feathers, and incenfe; but if thou art a man, take thefe fowls and fruits that we have brought thee.

C H A P. XXX. *Of Canibals.*

WHEN king Pyrrhus, upon his entrance into Italy, faw the order of the Roman army, that was fent to meet him *. 'I know not,' faid he, 'what kind of barbarians (for fo the Greeks call other nations) thefe may be; but the difpofition of the army, which I now fee, has nothing of the Barbarian in it.' The fame was faid by the Greeks concerning the army which Flaminius fent into their country; and by Philip, when he difcovered, from an eminence, the order and diftribution of the Roman camp, in his kingdom, under Publius Sulpitius Galba. By this it appears, how cautious men ought to be, of taking things upon truft, from vulgar opinion, and that we are to judge by the eye of reafon, and not from common report.

I had

* Plutarch in the life of Pyrrhus.

I had a man with me a long time, who had lived ten or twelve years in that other world, lately discovered, in that part of it, which Velegaignon went after, which he surnamed Antarctick France. This discovery of so vast a country seems to be of very great importance; and we are not sure, that there may not be another discovered hereafter, so many greater men than we having been deceived in this. I am afraid that our eyes are bigger than our bellies, and that our curiosity is greater than our capacity. We grasp at every thing, and catch nothing but air.

Plato introduces Solon *, telling a story which he had heard from the priests of Sais in Egypt, that in the old times, even before the flood, there was a great island called Atlantis, directly at the mouth of the streight of Gibraltar, which was bigger than Africa and Asia both together, and that the kings of this same country, not only possessed this island, but had extended themselves so far into the continent, that it extended the breadth of Africa as far as Egypt, and the length of Europe as far as Tuscany, attempted to incroach even upon Asia, and to subdue all the nations bordering on the Mediterranean sea, as far as the gulph of the Black sea, and for this purpose traversed Spain, Gaul, and Italy, even to Greece, where they were checked by the Athenians: But that some time after, both the Athenians, and they, with their island, were swallowed by the deluge.

It is very probable, that that extraordinary rising inundation made strange alterations in the habitations of the earth, as it is said, that Sicily was rent by the sea from the main-land of Italy;

(Hæc loca vi quondam, & vastâ convulsa ruina,

*Diffiluisse ferunt: cum protinus utraque tellus,
Una foret †.) i. e.*

(’Tis said that by an earthquake or a rapid flood,
Too great and boisterous to be withstood,
Those places, were from one another rent,
Which were before one solid continent.)

Cyprus

* In the dialogue intituled Timæus, p. 524, 525.

† Virg. Æn. iii. v. 414, 416, 417.

Cyprus from Syria ; the isle of Negropont from the main-land of Bœotia ; and in other parts, joined lands together, that before were separate, filling up the channels that were betwixt them with mud and sand ;

— *Sterilisque diu palus, aptaque remis*

Vilinas urbes alii, & grave sentit aratrum *. i. e.

Marshes long barren where boats did row

Feed neighbouring cities and admit the plough.

But it is not very probable that the new world lately discovered, was that island : For it almost touched upon Spain, and that that inundation, should have forced such a prodigious tract so far off, as above † 200 leagues from it, is incredible ; besides that, our modern navigators have already, in a manner, discovered it to be no island, but Terra Firma, and joining to the East Indies on one side, and, with the lands under the two poles on the other side ; or if it be separated from them, that it is by too narrow a streight and interval, to deserve the name of an island. It seems that in those great bodies, as it is in ours, there are two motions, some natural, others febrifick. When I consider the impression that has been made in my time, by our river Dordogne towards the right hand-side as it runs down, and that, in these twenty years past, it has gained so much, and sapped the foundation of many buildings, I plainly perceive it to be owing to some extraordinary agitation ; for if it had always taken this course, or was to do so hereafter, the present figure of the world would be totally changed. But rivers are apt to alter their course : Sometimes they overflow on one side, sometimes on the other, and at other times quietly keep their channels. I do not speak of sudden inundations, the cause of which we clearly know. In Medoc, by the sea-side, my brother, the Sieur d'Arfac, sees an estate he had there buried, under the sands thrown up by the sea, where the tops of some houses are yet to be seen ; his revenues and domains are converted into poor pastures. The inhabitants say, that for some years past, the sea has drove so vehemently upon their coast, that they have lost four leagues of land. These sands are harbingers of its approach. And we now see great shoals

of

* Hor. de art. poet. v. 65, 66.

of moving sands, that roll on half a league before it, and make a lodgment on the country.

The other testimony of antiquity, which some produce for this discovery, is in Aristotle, at least if that little history of unheard miracles be his. He there says, that certain Carthaginians, having crossed the Atlantick sea beyond the streight of Gibraltar, after a long navigation, discovered a great fruitful island, covered all over with wood, and watered with broad deep rivers; far remote from any main land, and that they, and others after them, allured by the goodness and fertility of the soil, went thither with their wives and children, and began to plant a colony. But the senate of Carthage, perceiving their country by degrees to grow thin of people, issued out an expresse prohibition, that no more should transport themselves thither, upon pain of death, and also expelled the new inhabitants; for fear, as it is said, lest, in process of time, they should multiply to such a degree, as to supplant themselves, and ruin their state. But this relation of Aristotle's no more agrees with our new found country, than the other.

This domestick of mine is a plain honest fellow, and therefore the more likely to tell truth. Your men of fine parts indeed are much more curious in their observations, and discover more particulars, but then they make comments upon them, and to give the better air to their glosses, and to gain them a credit, they cannot help making a little alteration in the story. They never represent things to you simply as they are, but turn and wind them according to the light they appeared in to themselves; and in order to gain a reputation to their judgment, and to draw you in to trust it, they are apt to lengthen and amplify the subject with something of their own invention. Either a man must be of undoubted veracity, or so simple that he has not wherewithal to contrive to give an air of truth to fiction, and who is wedded to no opinion. Such a one was my man, and besides, he has divers times shewed me several sailors and merchants, who went the same voyage with him. Therefore I content myself with

his information, without inquiring what the cosmographers say of it.

We would have topographers to give us a particular account of the places where they were. But because they have had this advantage over us, of seeing the holy land, they would have the privilege forsooth, of telling us stories of all the other parts of the world. I would have every one write what he knows, and as much as he knows of it, not only on this, but on all other subjects. For a man may have some particular knowledge or experience of the nature of such a river; or such a spring, who, as to other things, knows no more than what every body does, and nevertheless for the sake of propagating, this smattering knowledge of his, he will undertake to write a whole history of natural philosophy. A vice which is the source of several great inconveniences.

Now to return to my subject. I do not find by what I am told of it, that there is any thing wild and barbarous in this nation, excepting, that every one gives the denomination of barbarism to what is not the custom of his country. As indeed we have no other level for aiming at truth and reason, but the example and idea of the opinions and customs of the country wherein we live. There is always the true religion, there is perfect government, and there the use of all things is compleat and perfect. There the people are wild, just as we call fruits wild, which nature produces of itself, and in its ordinary progress; whereas in truth we ought rather to call those wild whose natures we have changed by our artifice, and diverted from the common order? In the former, their genuine, and most useful and natural virtues and properties, are vigorous and sprightly, but the latter are degenerated, by our accommodating them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And yet our palates, ever find a flavour and delicacy, excellent even to emulation of the best of ours, in several fruits of those countries that grow without cultivation.

It is not reasonable that art should gain the pre-eminence of our great and powerful mother, nature. We have so surcharged the beauty and richness of her works by our own inventions, that we have almost smothered her

her. Yet wherever she shines in her own pure lustre, she wonderfully disgraces our vain and frivolous attempts.

*Et veniunt hederæ sponte sua melius,
Surgit & in solis formosior arbutus antris,*

Et volucres nulla dulcius arte canunt *. i. e.

The ivy best spontaneously does thrive,
The strawb'ry best in shady caves does live,
And birds in their wild notes their throats do stretch
With greater art, than art itself can teach.

With all our skill, we are not able to frame such a nest as that of the least of the small birds, neither for its texture, beauty or convenience, nor can we weave such a web, as the poor spider does. All things, says Plato †, are produced either by nature, or by chance, or by art. The largest and the most beautiful by one or other of the two first, the least and imperfect ones by the last.

These nations then seem to me to be so far barbarous, as very little care has been taken to form their minds, and as their native simplicity is still unimproved. They are still governed by the laws of nature, as yet very little adulterated by ours, but remaining in such purity, that I am sometimes sorrow that we were not acquainted with the people sooner, when there were men better able to judge of them than we are. I am vexed that Lycurgus and Plato had no knowledge of them: for, in my opinion, what we see in those nations by experience, does not only surpass all the paintings with which the poets have embellished the golden age, and all their inventions in representing the then happy state of mankind, but also the conception and desire of philosophy itself. Such a native, and pure simplicity, as we see in them by experience, could never enter into their imagination, nor could they ever believe that society could be maintained with so little human artifice and cement.

Should I say to Plato, it is a nation wherein there is no sort of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no science of numbers, no title of magistracy, nor of political superiority; no use of service, riches or poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividends, no occupations, but idle ones; no respect of kindred, but all common; no cloaths, no

L 2

agri-

* Propert. lib. i. Eleg. 2. v. 10, 11, 15. † Plato de legibus 63.

agriculture, no metal, no use of wine or corn, and that they never heard the mention of such words as signify lying, treason, dissimulation, avarice, envy, detraction, and pardon, how far would he find his imaginary republic, short of this perfection?

Hos natura modos primum dedit *. i. e.

These diff'rent ways were first by nature taught.

For the rest, they live in a very pleasant country, and temperate climate, so that, as my authors tell me, it is rare to see a man sick there, and they assured me they never saw any of the natives, either paralytic, blear-eyed, toothless, or decrepid with age. The situation of their country is all along by the sea-shore, being shut up on the land-side, by great high mountains, from which it is 100 leagues or thereabouts to the sea. Here are fish and flesh, in abundance, that have no resemblance with what comes to our tables, and they use no cookery, but plain boiling, broiling, roasting, or baking on the coals. The first man that ever came to them on horseback, tho' he had made an acquaintance with them by several voyages, so frightened them by his appearance of half man and half horse, that they killed him with their arrows before they could find their mistake.

Their buildings which are very long and capable of entertaining 200 or 300 people, are made of the bark of tall trees, fixed with one end to the ground, and leaning to, and supporting one another at the top, like some of our barns, the the roof of which descends almost to the ground, and serves instead of the side walls. They have wood so hard, that they cleave it and make swords of it and grills to broil their meat on.

Their beds, which are of cotton, are hung up to the roof, like our seamen's hammocks, and hold but one person, for the wives lie apart from their husbands.

They rise with the sun, and immediately fall to eating, when they make one meal, which serves them for the whole day. They do not then drink, (as Suidas reports of some people of the east, who never drank at their meals) but they drink several times in a day, and to a hearty pitch. Their liquor is made of a certain root, and is of the colour of claret; and they always drink it luke-

* Virg. Georg. lib. ii. v. 20.

lukewarm. It will not keep above two or three days, has a brisk savour, is not at all heady, is very good for the stomach, but proves laxative to those who are not used to it, tho' to those who are, is a very pleasant beverage. Instead of bread, they make use of a certain white compound, like Coriander comfits; which I have tasted, and found to be sweet, but a little flat.

They spend the whole day in dancing. The young men go out to hunt the wild beasts with bows and arrows. Part of their women, in the mean time, are employed in warming their drink, which is their chief employment. One of their old men, in the morning before they fall to eating, preaches to the whole household, in common, walking from one end of the house to the other, several times repeating the same sentences, till he has gone all round the family, (for their buildings are at least 100 yards long) to whom he only recommends two things, valour against their enemies, and love to their wives. And they never fail to put them in mind how much they are the more obliged to it, because it is the women who provide them their drink warm, and well relished. In several places, and at my house amongst others, may be seen the form of their beds, swords, and wooden gauntlets, with which they guard their wrists in battle, and their canes hollow at one end, by the sound of which they keep time in their dancing. They shave all their hairy parts, and much more nicely than we, without any razor but what is of wood or stone.

They believe the eternity of the soul's duration, and that those who have deserved well of the Gods, are lodged in that part of the firmament where the sun rises; and the damned in the west.

They have I know not what kind of priests and prophets, who live in the mountains, and are seldom seen by the people. Whenever they come down to them there is a great festival, and a solemn assembly of the people from many villages, (or barns, as I have described them, which are about a French league from one another.) The prophet then speaks to them in public, exhorting them to their virtue and their duty: but their whole system of morality, consists in these two articles, resolution in war, and affection to their wives. He also

foretels to them things to come, and what they must expect will be the event of their enterprizes, and he either persuades them to, or dissuades them from war, but woe be to him if he does not guess right, for if it happens to them otherways than he foretold, they condemn him for a false prophet; and if they can catch him, cut him in a thousand pieces. For this reason, if any one finds himself mistaken, he keeps out of sight. Divination is a gift of God, therefore to abuse it is an imposture that ought to be punished.

Among the Scythians, when their diviners failed in their predictions, they were bound hand and foot, and laid on a cart loaden with furze, and drawn by oxen, on which they were burnt to death*. They who only meddle with things within the sphere of human capacity, are excusable in doing the best they can; but as for those other people that come and delude us, with assurances of an extraordinary faculty, beyond our understanding, ought they not to be punished for not making good their promise, and for the temerity of their imposture?

They have wars with the nations that are beyond their mountains, farther within the main land, to which they go stark naked, without any weapons, but bows or wooden swords, pointed at the end like the heads of our javelins. Their obstinacy in battles is wonderful, as they never end without great effusion of blood, for they know not what it is to be frighten'd and to run away. Every one brings home for a trophy the head of some enemy that he has killed, which he sets up over the door of his house.

After having treated their prisoners a good while in the handsomest manner they can think of, the person who has the property of them invites a great number of his acquaintance, and when they are come, ties a cord to one of his prisoners arms, by one end of which he holds him some paces distance, that he may not hurt him, and gives to the friend he loves best, the other arm, to hold in the same manner, and then they two, in presence of the whole assembly, run him through the body with their swords. This done, they roast him and eat him in common, and send some slices of him to their absent friends.

* Herodot. lib. iv. p. 279.

friends. They do not do this, as it is imagined, for the sake of nourishment, as the Scythians did of old, but to denote the last degree of revenge; as will appear by this, That perceiving, that when the Portuguese had taken any prisoners, they inflicted another sort of death upon them, which was to set them in the earth up to the waist, to let fly their arrows at the upper part, and then to hang them; they were of opinion that these people of the other world, (as they had made their neighbours acquainted with a great many vices, and far outstripped them in all sorts of mischief) had a reason for taking this sort of revenge, and that it must be more severe than theirs, and so began to leave their old way, and to follow this. I am not sorry that we should here take notice of the barbarous cruelty of such an action; but rather that, while we judge so nicely of their faults, we are so blind to our own. I think there is more barbarity in eating a man alive than when he is dead; in tearing a body limb from limb, by racks and torments, while it has the sense of feeling, in roasting it by degrees, in causing it to be bit and worried by dogs and swine (as we have not only read but lately seen, not between veteran enemies, but between neighbours and fellow citizens, and what is worse, under pretence of piety and religion) than in roasting and eating it after it is dead. Chrysippus * and Zeno, the two heads of the stoical sect, were of opinion that there was no hurt in making use of our dead bodies to any purpose whatsoever, to serve our occasions and even for our nourishment, as our ancestors, when besieged by Cæsar in the city Alexia, resolved to keep themselves from being starved to death by the bodies of their old men, women and other persons, incapable of bearing arms.

*Vascones (fama est) alimentis talibus usi,
Produxere animas †. i. e.*

'Tis said the Gascons with such meats as these,

In time of siege their hunger did appease.

And the physicians scruple not to make use of human flesh every way, either inwardly or outwardly for our health. But the savages here treated of, never maintained

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any

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Chrysippus, lib. vii. sect. 188.

† Juv. Sat. 15. v. 93, 94.

any opinion so enormous as to excuse treason, disloyalty, tyranny, and cruelty, which are our familiar vices : we may therefore stile them barbarous, with an eye to the laws of reason, but not in respect to ourselves, who exceed them in all kinds of barbarity.

Their warfare is quite noble and generous, and is as excusable and commendable as that human malady is capable of, it having no foundation with them but the sole jealousy of virtue. They do not contend for the conquest of new lands, for those they possess still enjoy that natural fertility, which furnishes them without labour and toil, with such an abundance of all necessities, that they have no need to enlarge their borders.

They are also happy in this circumstance that they desire no more than what the necessities of nature demand, every thing beyond that, being to them superfluous.

Men of the same age generally call one another brothers, those who are younger, children, and the old men are fathers to all. These leave to their heirs in common, the full possession of their goods and chattels, without any division or any other title than what nature bestows upon her creatures, at bringing them into the world.

If their neighbours come over the mountains to attack them and obtain a victory over them, all that the conquerors gain by it is glory, and the advantage of proving their superiority in valour and prowess ; for they take no spoils from the vanquished, but return home to their own country, where they have no want of any necessities, nor of that happy knowledge how to live contentedly in their condition. And these in their turn do the same. They demand no other ransom of the prisoners they take, than the confession and acknowledgment of being vanquished. But there is not a man of them to be found in a whole century, who had not rather perish, than abate an ace of the grandeur of his invincible courage, either by a look or word. There is not one who had not rather be killed and eaten, than so much as open his mouth to desire he may not be so treated. They indulge them with full liberty, that their lives may be so much the dearer to them ; yet commonly accost them with menaces
of

of their approaching death, of the torments which they are to suffer, of the preparations making for that purpose, of the mutilation of their members, and of the feast that is to be made on their carcases. And all this they do for no other purpose, but to extort some gentle or submissive word from them, or to put it into their heads to make their escape, for the sake of gaining the advantage of having terrified them, and shaken their constancy: And, indeed, if the thing be rightly considered, it is in this point only that true victory consists.

——— *Victoria nulla est,*

Quam quæ confessos animo quoque subjugat hostes . i. e.*

No victory's so true and so compleat;

As when the vanquish'd own their just defeat.

That warlike nation the Hungarians, did not pursue their point formerly beyond reducing the enemy to beg quarters: for after they had forced them to this submission; they let them go without injury, or ransom, or any greater demand upon them, than their promise not to bear arms against them for the future. We have several advantages over our enemies, that are borrowed and not our own. To have stronger arms and legs than another man, is a qualification for a porter, but not for a man of true valour. The disposition of soldiers in battle array, is a lifeless corporeal quality; if our enemy stumble, or his eyes are dazzled with the light of the sun, it is owing to fortune; and to be a good fencer is a qualification of art and science, that may be attained to by a coward and a poltron.

The estimation and value of a man consists in the heart, and the will, and therein lies his true honour, valour is the stability, not of legs and arms, but of courage and the mind. It does not consist in the goodness of our horse, or our armour, but in ourselves. The man who falls obstinately courageous, 'Si succiderit de genu pugnabit†;' if his legs fail him, will fight upon his knees. He who does not flinch be he in ever such imminent danger of death, and who when giving up the ghost, looks his enemy in the face with a stern and disdainful countenance, he is conquered not by us, but by

L 5

fortune;

* Claudian de Sexto Consulatu Honorij Panegyris, v. 248, 249.

† Senec. de Providentiæ.

fortune; nay, he is killed, not conquered; the most valiant being sometimes the most unfortunate.

There are actually some defeats which may compare even with victories for triumph. As for those four sister-victories, the most signal which the sun ever beheld with its eyes, viz. those of Salamis, Plataea, Mycale, and Sicily, they durst not set all their glory united in opposition to that of the defeat of king Leonidas, and his army, at the pass of Thermopylae. Whoever ran with a more glorious emulation or ambition, to the winning, than the captain Ischolas did to the losing of a battle? Whoever found out a more ingenious and curious stratagem for his self preservation, than he did for his own destruction? He was commissioned to defend a certain pass of the Peloponnesus against the Arcadians, but finding it impossible for him to do it upon observation of the nature of the place, and the inequality of his forces to that of the enemy, and being sure that no man who faced the enemy there, must ever expect to come back: and on the other hand thinking it would be a reproach to his valour, and magnanimity, and to the Lacedaemonian name, to fail in his commission, he chose a medium between the two extremes, after this manner. The youngest and most active of his soldiers, he reserved for the defence and service of their country, and sent them home; and with the rest, whose loss would not be of so much consequence, he resolved to maintain this pass, and by the death of them, to make the enemy to pay as dear a purchase as possible for their entry, as it accordingly fell out. For being instantly surrounded on all sides by the Arcadians, after having made a great slaughter of them, he and his men were all put to the sword. Is any trophy erected to the victors, which is not rather due to the vanquished? The true way to victory is by fighting, not by coming off; and the honour of valour consists in the battle, not in the defeat.

To return to my story: these prisoners are so far from being humbled by any thing done to them, that, on the contrary, during the two or three months, that they are kept

* See Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xv. c. 7. where the action of Ischolas, is compared to that of king Leonidas, which Montaigne extols above the most celebrated victories.

kept under, they appear with a brisk countenance, urge their keepers to make haste to bring them to the test; defy, rail at them, reproach them with cowardice, and with the number of battles they have lost.

I have a song made by one of these prisoners, wherein, he says, 'They shall be welcome to meet, one and all, to dine upon him, and thereby eat their fathers and grandfathers, whose flesh had served to feed and nourish him. These muscles, says he, this flesh and these veins they are your own. Poor souls as you are, you little think that the substance of the limbs of your ancestors is here still. Do but mind the taste, and you will perceive the relish of your own flesh.' This is a composition that has nothing of the taste of barbarism. They who paint him dying after being thus stabbed, paint the prisoner spitting in the faces of his executioners, and making mouths at them; and in truth, they never cease to brave and defy them both by looks and language, to the very last gasp. It is certain that these men compared to us are very savage, for in good faith either they must needs be such, or else we must, there being a wonderful difference betwixt their manners and ours.

The men here have a plurality of wives, and the more eminent they are for their valour, the more wives they have.

There is one very extraordinary thing to be observed in their married state, viz. 'That as the jealousy of our wives, excites them to hinder us from the friendship and favour of other women, their wives have the same emulation to procure that happiness for their husbands: for being more careful to promote the honour of their husbands, than of any one thing besides, they seek out very eagerly for the most companions they can find for the husband, it being a testimony of his valour. Our wives, will say, this is monstrous! but it is not so. It is a virtue truly matrimonial, tho' of the highest form. We find in the Bible, that Sarah the wife of Abraham, and Jacob's wives, Leah and Rachael, furnished their husbands with their beautiful maids, and Livia favoured the appetites of Augustus to her own prejudice; and

Stratonice

Stratonice * the wife of king Dejotarus not only accommodated her husband with the enjoyment of a handsome young chamber-maid in her service, but carefully brought up the children he had by her, and helped them to succeed to their father's dominions. And lest it should be thought that all this is done merely from a servile obligation to their customs, and by the impression of the authority of their ancient practice, without reason, and without judgment, and for want of sense to take another course, it is necessary in this place to give some touches of their capacity.

Besides what I just now repeated from one of their military songs, I have another, a love song of theirs, which begins in this manner, viz. 'Stay, Adder, stay, that by thy likeness my sister may draw the fashion and work of a rich ribband for me to make a present of to my sweet-heart, by which means thy beauty and thy disposition, may at all times give thee the preference before all other serpents.' Wherein the first couplet, Stay, Adder, &c. makes the burden of the song. Now I converse enough with poetry, to judge thus much, that not only there is nothing barbarous in this thought, but that it is perfectly Anacreontick.

Their language moreover is soft, and of a pleasing accent, resembling the terminations of the Greek.

Three of these people foreseeing how dear the knowledge of the corruption of this part of the world, would one day cost their happiness and repose, and that this correspondence would in the end prove their ruin, as I suppose it to be already in fair way of doing so, (wretched men! to suffer themselves to be deluded with desire of novelty, and to leave their own serene sky, to come and gaze at ours) were at Roan when the late king Charles IX. was there. The monarch himself talked to them a good while, and they were made to see our fashions, our pomp, and the form of a fine city, after which somebody asked their opinion, and wanted to know

* See Plutarch in his treatise of the virtuous deeds of women in the article *Στρατονίκη*. The last English translation by Mr. Cotton, has a small blunder here, by mistaking the name Stratonice, for that of a country. Galatia, says Plutarch, also produced Stratonice the wife of Dejotarus, &c. Tome 31. p. 258. the Paris edition in 1624.

know of them, what things they most admired of all they had seen? To which they made answer, three things, of which, I am sorry I have forgot the third, but two I yet remember. They said, in the first place, they thought it very strange that so many tall men wearing great beards; strong and well armed about the king's person (by whom it is like, they meant his Swiss guards) should submit to obey a child, and they did not rather choose out one among themselves to command. Secondly, That they had taken notice of men amongst us who were fat, and crammed with all manner of good things, whilst their halves * were begging at the gates, lean and half starved with hunger and poverty; and they wondered how these necessitous halves, could put up with such unjust fare, and not take the others by the throat, or set fire to their houses.

I talked with one of them a good while, but I had so sorry an interpreter, who was so perplexed by his stupidity to apprehend my meaning, that I could get nothing of any moment out of him. Asking of what advantage his superiority over the people was to him. (for he was a captain, and our mariners stiled him king) he told me 'to march at the head of them to war.' And demanding further of him how many men he had to follow him? He shewed me a space of ground, to signify as many as could stand in such a compass, which might be four or five thousand men: then putting the question to him, whether or no his authority expired with the war? He told me, 'this part of it remained, that when he went to visit the villages of his dependance, they made paths for him through their thickest woods, so that he could pass from one place to another with ease.' And, upon the whole, this was not a bad thing. If you ask why? I answer, because they wear no breeches.

C H A P.

* It is an idiom in their language, to call men the half of one another.

C H A P. XXXI. *That a man must not be too hasty in judging of divine ordinances.*

THINGS unknown are the true field and subject of imposture, forasmuch as in the first place, their very strangeness gives them credit, and moreover, by not being subjected to our ordinary discourse, they deprive us of the means to dispute them. For which reason, says Plato, it is much more easy to satisfy the hearers, when speaking of the nature of the gods, then of the nature of men, because the ignorance of the auditory affords a fair and large career, and all manner of liberty, in the handling of abstruse things; thence it comes to pass, that nothing is so firmly believed, as what we least know: nor any people so confident, as those who entertain us with fables, such as alchymists, judicial astrologers, fortune-tellers, physicians, and 'Id *genus omne*;' to whom I could willingly, if I durst, join a class of people, who take upon them to interpret and criticise the designs of God himself, pretending to find out the cause of every accident, and to pry into the secrets of the divine will, and the incomprehensible motives of his works *. And altho' the variety, and the continual discordance of events, throw them from corner to corner, and from east to west, yet do they still persist in their vain inquisition, and with the same pencil paint black and white. In a nation of the Indies, there is this commendable custom, that when any thing befalls them amiss in any rencounter or battle, they publicly ask pardon of the sun, who is their god, as if they had committed an unjust action, always imputing their good or evil fortune to the divine justice, and to that submitting their own judgment and reason.

It is enough for a christian to believe, that all things come from God, to receive them with acknowledgment of his divine and unsearchable wisdom, and also to accept them in good part, with what face soever they may present themselves: but I do not approve of what I see

* People who pretend to give the most precise determination of the designs of God, the duration, efficacy and extent of his favours, &c.

see in use, that is, to seek to establish and support our religion by the prosperity of our enterprizes. Our belief has other foundations enough, without authorizing it by events: for people accustomed to such plausible arguments, as these, and so peculiar to their own taste, it is to be feared, lest when they fail of success, they should also stagger in their faith: as in the war wherein we are now engaged, upon account of religion, those who had the better in the affair of Rochelabaille *, rejoicing at that success, and boasting it as an infallible approbation of their cause, when they came afterwards to excuse their misfortunes at Jarnac † and Moncontour, it was by saying, they were fatherly scourges and corrections; if they have not a people wholly at their mercy, they make it obvious enough to them, that is to take two sorts of grist out of the same sack, and with the same mouth to blow hot and cold. It were better to support a cause, with the real foundations of truth.

It was a brave naval battle that was gained, a few months since, against the Turks ‡, under the command of Don John of Austria; but it has also pleased God at other times, to let us see as great victories at our own expence. In fine, it is a hard matter to reduce divine things to our balance, without losing a great deal of the weight. And he that would take upon him to give a reason, why Arius, and his pope Leo, the principal heads of the Arian heresy, should die at different times, in a way so like and so strange, (for being withdrawn from the disputation, by the griping in the guts, they both of them suddenly gave up the ghost upon the stool,) and would aggravate this divine vengeance, by the circumstance of the place; might as well add the death of Heliogabalus, who was also slain in a house of office §. But what? Irenæus was involved in the same fortune.

God

* A great skirmish that had like to have caused a general battle, betwixt the troops of the admiral de Coligny, and those of the duke of Anjou, in May, 1569.

† These battles were won by the duke of Anjou, the first in March, and the last in October, 1569.

‡ In 1571. § In 'Latrinâ ad quam confugerat, occisus,' *Ælii Lampridii Heliogabalus*, p. 107.

God being pleased to shew us, that the good have something else to hope for; and the wicked something else to fear; than the fortunes or misfortunes of the world, he manages, and applies them; according to his own secret will, and deprives us of the means, foolishly to make our own profit. And those people deceive themselves, who pretend to do it by human reason. They never give one hint that they do not receive two for it; of which St. Augustin gives a very great proof on his adversaries. It is a conflict that is more decided by strength of memory than the force of reason. We are to content ourselves with the light it pleases the sun to communicate to us, by virtue of his rays, and he that will lift up his eyes to take in a greater, let him not think it strange, if for the punishment of his presumption, he thereby lose his sight. 'Quis hominum potest scire consilium Dei? Aut quis poterit cogitare, quid velit Dominus *?' i. e. Who amongst men can know the counsel of God? Or who can think what the will of the Lord is?

C H A P. XXXII. *To avoid pleasures, even at the expence of life.*

I Had long ago observed most of the opinions of the ancients to concur in this, That it is high time to die, when there is more ill than good in living, and that to preserve life to our own torment and inconvenience, is repugnant to the very laws of nature, as these old rules instruct us.

Ἡ ζῆν αλύπως, ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως,
 Καλὸν διήσκειν οἷς ὕβρει τὸ ζῆν φέρεται,
 Κρείσσον τὸ μὴ ζῆν ἰσὺς, ἢ ζῆν αἰσθλῶς. i. e.
 Happy is death, whenever it shall come,
 To him, to whom to live is troublesome :
 He whom life persecutes with restless spite,
 May honourably bid the world good night,
 And infinitely better 'tis to die,
 Than to prolong a life of misery.

But to push this contempt of death so far as to employ it to the drawing off our thoughts from the honours, riches,

riches, dignities, and other favours, and goods, as we call them, of fortune, as if reason were not sufficient to persuade us to avoid them, without this additional injunction, I had never seen it either commanded or practised, till this passage of Seneca fell into my hands; who advising Lucilius, a man of great power and authority about the emperor, to alter his voluptuous and magnificent way of living, and to withdraw himself from this worldly ambition, to some solitary, quiet, and philosophical life, and the other alledging some difficulties; 'I am of opinion, (says Cicero ep. 22.) either that thou leave that life, or life itself. I would indeed advise thee to the more gentle way, and to untie, rather than to break, the knot thou hast indiscreetly knit, provided, that if it be not otherwise to be untied, thou break it. There is no man so great a coward, that had not rather fall at once, than to be always falling.' I should have thought this counsel suitable enough to the stoical roughness: but it appears the more strange, for being borrowed from Epicurus, who writes the same, upon the like occasion, to Idomeneus. Yet I think I have observed something like it, but with the christian moderation, amongst our own people. St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, that famous enemy of the Arian heresy, being in Syria, had intelligence, that Abra his only daughter, whom he left at home with her mother, was sought in marriage by the gayest noblemen of the country, as being a virgin virtuously brought up, beautiful, rich, and in the flower of her age: Whereupon he writ to her, (as it appears upon record,) that she should remove her affection from all those pleasures and advantages that were proposed to her; for he had in his travels found out a much greater and more worthy match for her, a husband of much greater power and magnificence, that would present her with robes, and jewels of inestimable value; his design in this was, to dispossess her of the appetite and use of worldly delights, and to join her wholly to God: But the nearest and most certain way to this, being, as he conceived, the death of his daughter; he never ceased, by vows, prayers and oraisons, to beg of God to call her out of this world, and take her to himself, as accordingly it came to pass; for soon after his return, she died, at which

which he exprest a singular joy. This seems to out-do the other, forasmuch as he applies himself at first sight, to this method which they only take secundarily; and besides, it was towards his only daughter. But I will not omit the latter end of this story, tho' it be not to my purpose: St. Hilary's wife having understood from him, how the death of their daughter was brought about by his desire and design, and how much happier she was, to be removed out of this world, than to have stayed in it, conceived so lively an apprehension of the eternal and heavenly beatitude, that she begged of her husband, with the extremest importunity, to do as much for her; and God, at their joint request, calling her to him shortly after, it was a death embraced on both sides, with singular content.

C H A P. XXXIII. *Fortune is often met with in the train of reason.*

SUCH is the inconstancy of the various biasses of fortune, that she cannot avoid appearing to us with all sorts of faces. Can there be a more exprest act of justice than this? The duke of Valentinois*, having resolved, in 1503, to poison Adrian cardinal of Cornetto, with whom pope Alexander the sixth, his father, and himself, were to sup at his house in the vatican, he sent before a bottle of poisoned wine, and withal, strict order to the butler to keep it very safe. The pope being come before his son, and calling for a whet, the butler supposing this wine was so strictly recommended to his care, only upon the account of its excellency, served a glass of it to the pope, and the duke himself coming in presently after, and believing his bottle had not been touched, took also his glass; so that the father died immediately upon the place, and the son, after having been long tormented with sickness, was reserved to another, and a worse fortune.

Sometimes she seems to play upon us, just in the nick of time. Monsieur d'Estree at that time guidon to monsieur de Vendosme; and monsieur de Liques lieutenant to

* History of Francis Guicciardin, lib. vi. p. 267, printed at Venice by Gabriel Giolito in 1568.

to the company of the duke of Arscot, being both suitors to the sieur de Fongeselles's sister, tho' of different parties (as it often falls out amongst frontier neighbours,) the sieur de Liques carried her; but on the very day he was married, and which was worse, before he went to bed to his wife, the bridegroom having a mind to break a lance in honour of his new bride, went out to skirmish, near to St. Omers, where the sieur d'Estree proved the stronger, took him prisoner, and the more to illustrate his victory, the lady herself was fain

(*Conjugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum,*)
Quam veniens una, atque altera rursus hyems,
*Noctibus in longis avidum saturasset amorem *.* i. e.

Off her fair arms, the am'rous ring to break,
 Which clung so fast to her new spouse's neck,
 Ere of two winters many a friendly night
 Had sated their loves greedy appetite.

to request the favour of him, to deliver up his prisoner to her, as he accordingly did, the gentlemen of *France* never denying any thing to the ladies. Does not fortune seem to be an artist here? Constantine the son of Hellen, founded the empire of Constantinople, and some ages after, Constantine the son of Hellen, put an end to it. Sometimes she is pleased to emulate our miracles. We are told, that the king Clovis besieging Angoulesme, the walls, by the divine favour, fell down of themselves. And Bouchet has it from some author, that king Robert having sat down before a city, and being stole away from the siege, to go keep the feast of St. Aignan at Orleans, as he was in devotion, at a certain place of the mass, the walls of the beleaguered city, without any effort against them, tumbled on a sudden. But she did quite contrary in our Milan war; for captain Rense laying siege to the city Verona, and having carried a mine under a great part of the wall, it was lifted from its base, by the springing of the mine, but dropt down again, nevertheless, whole and entire, and so exactly upon its foundation, that the besieged suffered no inconvenience by it.

Sometimes she plays the physician. Jason Phereus being given over by the physicians, by reason of an imposthume in his breast, having a mind to rid himself of it

* Catullus ad Manl. v. 81, &c.

it by death at least, rushed desperately into the thickest ranks of the enemy, where he was fortunately wounded quite through the body, that the imposthume broke, and he was cured*.

Did she not also excel the painter Protogenes in the knowledge of his art? This man finished the picture of a dog quite tired, and out of breath, in all the other parts excellently well to his own liking, but not being able to express, as he would, the slaver and foam of his mouth, he was so vexed with his work, that he took his sponge, which, by cleaning his pencils, had imbibed variety of colours, and threw it in a rage against the picture, with an intent utterly to deface it; when fortune guiding the sponge to hit just upon the mouth of the dog, it there performed what art could not attain to †.

Does she not sometimes direct our counsels, and correct them? Isabel, queen of England, being to return from Zealand to her own kingdom, in 1326, with an army in favour of her son, against her husband, had been lost, had she come into the port she intended, being there laid wait for by the enemy; but fortune, against her will, threw her into another haven, where she landed in safety. And he of old, who throwing a stone at a dog, hit and killed his mother-in-law, had he not reason to pronounce this verse,

Ταυτόματον ἡμῶν καλλίω βελιύται †; i. e.

By this you see,

Fortune takes surer aim than we.

|| Icetes had tampered with two soldiers to kill Timoleon, at Adrano in Sicily. They took their time to do it, when he was performing a sacrifice, when thrusting into the crowd, as they were making signs to one another, that now was a fit time for their business, in steps a third, who, with a sword takes one of them full drive over

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 50. Valerius Maximus who mentions this accident, lib. i. c. 9. in Externis, represents the fact in a manner still more miraculous, for he says, that Jason received this important service from an assassin. Seneca ascribes this accident to the same cause. De Benef. lib. ii. c. 19. † Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. c. 10. † Menander.

|| He was a Sicilian born at Syracuse that aimed to oppress the liberty of his country, of which Timoleon was the protector. Plutarch in the life of Timoleon, ch. 7.

over the pate, lays him dead upon the place, and away he runs. His companion concluding himself discovered, and undone, ran to the altar, and begged for protection, promising to discover the whole truth. And while he was laying open the whole conspiracy, behold the third man, who being apprehended, was, as a murderer, pulled and haled by the people through the crowd, towards Timoleon, and others the most eminent persons of the assembly, to whom he cried for pardon, pleading that he had justly slain his father's murderer; and proving upon the spot, by sufficient witnesses, which his good fortune very opportunely supplied him withal, that his father was really killed in the city of the Leontines, by that very man on whom he had taken his revenge, he was awarded ten Attick * minæ, for having had the good fortune, while he was taking satisfaction for the death of his father, to preserve the life of the common father of the Sicilians. This fortune, in her conduct, surpasses all the rules of human prudence.

To conclude: is there not a direct application of her favour, bounty, and piety, manifestly discovered in this action? Ignatius † the father, and Ignatius the son, being proscribed by the triumviri of Rome, resolved upon this generous act of mutual kindness, to fall by the hands of one another, and by that means to frustrate the cruelty of the tyrants; and accordingly, with their swords drawn, ran full drive one upon another, where fortune so guided the points, that they gave two wounds equally mortal, affording withal so much honour to so brave a friendship, as to leave them just strength enough to draw out of their wounds their bloody weapons, that they might have liberty to clasp one another in this condition with so close an embrace, that the executioners cut off both their heads at once, leaving the bodies fast linked together in this noble knot, and their wounds close to each other, affectionately sucking in the blood, and the remainder of one another's lives.

C H A P.

* The old Attick mina was seventy five drachmæ.

† Appian Alexand. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. iv. p. 969.

CHAP. XXXIV. *Of one defect in our government.*

MY deceased father, who, for a man that had no other advantages, than experience only, and his own natural parts, was nevertheless of a very clear Judgment, has formerly told me that he once had thoughts of endeavouring to introduce this practice; that there might be in every city a certain place assigned, to which, such as stood in need of any thing might repair, and have their business entered by an officer appointed for that purpose; as for example, I want to sell, or to buy pearls: such a one wants company to go to Paris: such a one enquires for a servant of such a quality: such a one for a master: such a one enquires for an artificer, some for one thing, some for another, every one according to what he wants. And, I fancy, these mutual advertisements would be of no contemptible advantage to the publick correspondence and intelligence: for there are always people that hunt after one another, and, for want of knowing one another's occasions, men are left in very great necessity.

I hear, to the great shame of the age we live in, that in our very sight, two most excellent men, for learning, died so poor, that they had scarce bread to put in their mouths, Lilius Gregorius Giraldus in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio in Germany: and I do believe, there are a thousand men would have invited them into their families, with very advantageous conditions, or have relieved them where they were, had they known their wants. The world is not so generally corrupted, but that I know a man that would heartily wish the estate his ancestors have left him, might be employed, so long as it shall please fortune to let him enjoy it, to shelter rare and remarkable persons of any kind, whom misfortune sometimes persecutes to the last degree, from the danger of necessity; and at least place them in such a condition, that they must be very hard to please if they were not contented.

My father in his oeconomical government, had this order, (which I know how to commend, but by no means to imitate,) which was, that besides the register he

he kept of the household affairs, where the small accounts, payments and contracts, which do not require a secretary's hand, were entered, and which his bailiff always had in custody; he ordered him whom he kept to write for him, to keep a paper journal, and in it to set down all the remarkable occurrences, and daily memoirs of his family affairs; very pleasant to look over, when time begins to wear things out of memory, and very useful sometimes to put us out of doubt, when such a thing was begun, when ended, what visitors came, with what attendants, and how long they staid; our voyages, absences, marriages, deaths, reception of good or ill news; the change of principal servants, and the like. An ancient custom, which I think it would not be amiss for every one to revive in his own family; and I find I did very foolishly in neglecting the same.

C H A P. XXXV. *Of the Custom of wearing Cloaths.*

WHATEVER I shall say upon this subject, I am of necessity to force a barrier of custom, so carefully has she been to shut up all the avenues. I was disputing with myself, in this cold season, whether the custom of going naked, in those nations lately discovered, is owing to the hot temperature of their air, as we say of the Moors and Indians, or whether it was the original custom of mankind: men of understanding, so far as all things under the sun, as the holy writ declares, are subject to the same laws, were wont in such considerations as these, where we are to distinguish the natural laws from those of human invention, to have recourse to the general polity of the world, where there could be nothing counterfeited. Now all other creatures being sufficiently furnished with all necessaries for their existence, it is not to be imagined, that we only should be brought into the world, in a defective and indigent condition, and in a state that cannot subsist without foreign assistance; and therefore I believe, that as plants, trees, animals, and all things that have life, are by nature sufficiently covered, to defend them from the injuries of weather;

Propterea quæ

*Propterea que ferè res omnes, aut corio sunt,
Aut setâ, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice tectæ* *. i. e.

And therefore shells, or rinds, or films inclose,

Or skin, or hair, on ev'ry body grows.

so were we: but as those who by artificial light put out that of the day, so we by borrowed forms have destroyed our own. And it is plain, that it is custom which renders that impossible to us, which otherwise is not so; for of those nations who have no notion of cloathing, some are situated under the same temperate climate that we are, and some in much severer climates. And besides, our most tender parts are always exposed to the air, as the eyes, mouth, nose and ears; and our peasants like our ancestors in former times, go open breasted to the waist. Had we been born with a necessity of wearing petticoats and breeches, there is no doubt, but nature would have fortified those parts she intended should be exposed to the fury of the seasons, with a thicker skin, as she has done the fingers ends, and the soles of the feet. And why should this seem hard to believe? I observe much greater distance betwixt my habit, and that of one of our country boors, than betwixt his, and a man that has no other covering but his skin. How many men, especially in Turkey, go naked upon the account of devotion? I know not who it was that asked a beggar, whom he saw in his shirt in the depth of winter, as brisk as another muffled up to the ears in furs, how he could endure to go so? 'why, sir, said he, you go with your face bare, but I am all face.' The Italians I think have a story of the duke of Florence his fool, whom his master asking, 'how being so thin clad, he was able to support the cold, which he himself was so guarded against?' 'why, replied the fool, 'use my receipt, to put on all the cloaths you have at once as I do, and you will feel no more cold than I †.' King Masinissa, to an extreme old age, could never be prevailed upon to go with his head covered, how cold, stormy, or rainy soever the weather might be: which also is reported of the emperor Severus. Herodotus tells us ‡, that in the battles fought betwixt the Egyptians and the Persians, it was observed,

* Lucret. lib. iv. v. 933, 934.

† Cicero of old Age, c. 10.

‡ Lib. iii. p. 185, 187.

served, both by himself and others, that of those who were left dead upon the place, the heads of the Egyptians were found to be without comparison harder than those of the Persians, by reason that the last had gone with their heads always covered from their infancy, first, with biggins, and then with turbans, and the others were always shaved and bare. And King Agesilaus to a decrepid age, took care to wear always the same cloaths in winter, that he did in summer. Cæsar, says Suetonius *, marched always at the head of his army, for the most part on foot, with his head bare, whether it was rain, or sun-shine, and as much is said of Hannibal,

— *Tum vertice nudo,*

Excipere insanos imbres, Cælique ruinam †. i. e.

Exposing his bare head to furious showers,

While hail or rain in torrents on it pours.

A Venetian who has long lived in Pegu, and is lately returned from thence, writes, that the men and women of that kingdom though they cover all their other parts, go always barefoot, and ride so too. And Plato does very earnestly advise, for the health of the whole body, to give the head and the feet no other covering than what nature has bestowed. He whom the Poles have elected for their king, (since ours came thence) who is indeed one of the greatest princes of this age, never wears any gloves, and be it in winter, or whatever weather, never wears any other cap abroad than what he wears at home. Whereas I cannot endure to go unbuttoned, or untied; my neighbouring labourers would think themselves in fetters, if they were so braced. Varro is of opinion, that when it was ordained we should have our heads uncovered in the presence of the gods, or the magistrate §, it was rather so ordered upon the score of health, and to inure us to the injuries of weather, than upon the account of reverence. And since we are now treating of cold, and of Frenchmen being used to wear variety of colours, (not I myself, for I seldom wear other than black, or white, in imitation of my father,) let us add another story of captain Martin du Bellay, who affirms that, in his Luxembourg journey, he saw so sharp frosts, that the

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* Sueton. Jul. Cæsar. sect. 58.

† Silius It. lib. i. v. 250.

§ 1.

§ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 28. c. 6.

ammunition wine was cut with hatchets and wedges; delivered out to the soldiers by weight *, and that they carried it away in baskets: And Ovid says,

*Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testæ
Vina, nec hausta meri, sed data frustra bibunt* †. i. e.

The wine

Dug from its cask, retains the figure still,
Nor do they draughts, but crusts of Bacchus swill.

At the mouth of the lake Mæotis, the frosts are so very sharp, that on the very same spot where Mithridates his lieutenant had fought the enemy dry-foot, and given them a defeat, the summer following he also obtained over them a naval victory.

The Romans fought at a great disadvantage, in the engagement they had with the Carthaginians near Placentia ‡, by reason that they went on to charge with their blood chilled, and their limbs benumbed with cold; whereas Hannibal had caused great fires to be dispersed quite thro' his camp to warm his soldiers, and oil to be distributed amongst them; to the end, that anointing themselves, they might render their nerves more supple and active, and fortify the pores against the piercing air, and freezing wind, that raged in that season.

The retreat the Greeks made from Babylon into their own country, is famous for the difficulties and calamities they had to overcome. Of which this was one, that being encountered in the mountains of Armenia, with a horrible storm of snow, they lost all knowledge of the country, and of the roads, and being shut up, were a day and a night without eating or drinking, during which most of their cattle died, many of themselves were starved, several struck blind with the driving of the hail, and the glittering of the snow, many of them maimed in their fingers and toes, and many rendered stiff and motionless with the extremity of the cold, who had yet their understanding entire.

Alexander

* Philip de Comines speaking of such cold weather in his time (1469) in the principality of Liege, says, that the wine was in like manner in their pipes, and that it was dug out, and cut into the form of wedges, and so carried off by gentlemen in hats or baskets, lib. ii. c. 14.

† Ovid. Trist. lib. iii. El. 10. v. 23, 24.

‡ Tit. Liv. lib. xxi. c. 54, 55.

Alexander saw a nation where they bury the fruit-trees in winter, to defend them from the frost, and we also may see the same.

But concerning cloaths, the king of Mexico changed his cloaths four times a day, and never put them on more, employing those he left off in his continual liberalities and rewards; as also, neither pot, dish, nor other utensil of his kitchen, or table, was ever served in twice.

C H A P. XXXVI. *Of Cato the younger.*

I Am not guilty of the common error of judging another by myself. I easily admit the differences of others from myself. And tho' I find myself engaged to one form, I do not oblige mankind to it as many do; but believe and apprehend a thousand opposite modes of living, and, contrary to most men, more easily admit of differences than uniformity amongst us. I, as frankly as any would have me, discharge another being from my humours and principles, and consider him according to his own model. Tho' I am not continent myself, I nevertheless sincerely approve the continency of the Capuchins, and other religious orders, and am pleased with their way of living. I fancy that I should like to be in their place, and love and honour them the more for being what I am not. I desire in particular, that we may be censured every man by himself, and would not be drawn into the consequence of common examples. My weakness does nothing alter the esteem I ought to have of the force and vigour of those who deserve it 'Sunt qui nihil suadent, 'quam quod se imitari posse confidunt *.' There are some who persuade nothing but what they believe they can imitate themselves. Crawling as I am upon the slime of the earth, I do not, for all that, cease to observe, up in the clouds, the inimitable height of some heroick souls: It is a great deal for me to have my judgment regular, if the effects cannot be so, and to maintain this sovereign part at least, free from corruption: It is something to have my will good when my legs fail me. This age wherein we live, in our part of the world at least, is grown so stupid, that not only the exercise, but the very

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notion

* Cicero de Or. ad Brutum, c. 7.

notion of virtue is defective, and seems to be only college jargon.

————— *Virtutem verba putant, ut
Lucum ligna* *. i. e.

Words finely couch'd these men for virtue take;
As if each wood a sacred grove could make.

'Quam verèri deberent †, etiam si percipere non possent ‡. Which they ought to reverence, tho' they cannot comprehend it. It is a mere gew-gaw to hang in a cabinet, or at the end of the tongue, as on the tip of the ear, for ornament only.

There are no more virtuous actions extant, and such as carry a shew of virtue have yet nothing of its essence; by reason that profit, glory, fear and custom, and other such foreign causes, put us in the way to produce them. Our justice also, valour and courtesy, may be called so too, in respect to others, and according to the face they appear with to the publick; but in the doer it is by no means virtue, because there is another end proposed, another moving cause. Now virtue owns nothing to be hers, but what is done by herself, and for herself alone.

In that great battle of Potidæa §, where the Greeks under Paulanias, defeated Mardonius and the Persians, the conquerors, according to their custom, coming to divide amongst them the glory of the exploit, they attributed to the Spartan nation the pre-eminence of valour in this engagement. The Spartans, great judges of virtue, when they came to determine, to what particular man of their nation the honour was due, of having the best behaved himself upon this occasion, found that Aristodemus || had of all others, hazarded his person with the greatest bravery: But did not however allow him any prize, by reason that his valour had been incited by a desire to clear his reputation from the reproach

* Horace, ep. 6. lib. i. v. 31, 32.

† Montaigne applies to virtue what Cicero here says of philosophy, and of those who presume to find fault with it.

‡ Cic. *Tuic. Quæst.* lib. v. c. 2.

§ Montaigne has here put Potidæa for Platæa. Cornelius Nepos, in the life of Paulanias, c. 1. 'Hujus est illustrissimum Prælium apud Platæas.

|| Herodot. lib. ix. p. 614.

proach it had incurred in the action at Thermopylæ, and by a desire to die bravely, to wipe off that former blemish.

Our judgments are sick, and conformable to the corruption of our manners. I observe most of the wits of these times pretend to shine by obscuring the glory of the brave and generous actions of former ages, putting some vile construction upon them, and forging vain causes and motives of them. A mighty subtilty indeed! Shew me the greatest and most unblemished action in life, and I will invent fifty bad ends to obscure it: God knows, who's intentions will extend them out to the full, what diversity of images our internal wills are liable to; they do not so maliciously play the censurers, as they do it ignorantly and rudely with their detraction.

The same pains and licence that others take to detract from these illustrious names, I would willingly take to lend them a lift to raise them higher. As for those rare figures that are culled out by the consent of the wisest men, for an example to the world, I should not stick to honour them more, as far as my invention would permit, by the circumstances of favourable construction. And we are to believe that the force of our invention is infinitely short of their merit. It is the duty of good men to paint virtue as beautiful as possible, and there would be no indecency in the case, should our passion a little transport us in favour of such sacred forms. What these people do to the contrary, they either do out of malice, or by the vice of confining their belief to their own capacity as aforesaid, or, which I am more inclined to think, for not having their sight strong, clear, and elevated enough, to conceive the splendor of virtue in her native purity: As Plutarch complains, that in his time some attributed the cause of the younger Cato's death to his fear of Cæsar, at which he seems very angry, and with good reason: And by that a man may guess how much more he would have been offended with those who have attributed it to ambition: silly people! He would have performed a handsome, just and generous action, tho' he had ignominy for his reward, rather than glory. That man was in truth a pattern, whom nature chose out to

shew to what height human virtue and constancy could arrive.

But I am not capable of handling so noble an argument ; I will therefore only enter five Latin poets in the lists, contending in the praise of Cato ; and inclusively for their own too. Now a man well read in poetry, will think the two first, in comparison of the others, languishing ; the third more vigorous, but overthrown by the extravagancy of his own force. He will then think, that there will be yet room for one or two gradations of invention to come to the fourth ; and coming to mount the pitch of that, he will lift up his hand in admiration. At the last, the first by some space, (but a space that he will swear is not to be filled up by any human wit,) he will be astonished, he will not know where he is.

It is very surprizing that we have more poets than judges and interpreters of poetry. It is easier to write a poem, than to understand one. There is indeed a certain low poetry, that a man may judge by precepts and art ; but the true, supreme and divine poesy is above all rules and reason. And whoever discerns the beauty of it, with a strong and steady sight, sees no more than a flash of lightning. This is a sort of poesy that does not exercise, but ravishes and overwhelms our judgment. The fury that possesses him who is able to penetrate into it, also strikes a third man by hearing him repeat it ; like a loadstone, that not only attracts the needle, but also communicates to it the virtue to attract others. And it is more evident at our theatres, that the sacred inspiration of the muses, having first stirred up the poet to anger, sorrow, hatred, and to be out of himself, whenever they will, does moreover by the poet possess the actor, and by the actor consequently all the spectators. So much do our passions hang and depend upon one another.

Poetry has ever had that power over me from a child, to transpierce and transport me : but this quick sense of it that is natural to me, has been variously handled by variety of forms, and not so much higher and lower, (for they were ever the highest in every kind,) as differing in colour. First, a gay and sprightly fluency, afterwards

wards an acute and penetrating subtilty; and lastly, a mature and constant force. An example will better express them; Ovid, Lucan, Virgil. But our poets are beginning their career.

One says,

Sit Cato dum vivit fama vel Cæsare major *. i. e.

————— Let Cato's fame,

Whilst he shall live, eclipse great Cæsar's name.

A second says,

————— *Et invictum devictâ morte Catonem* †. i. e.

————— And Cato fell,

Death being overcome, invincible.

And the third, speaking of the civil-wars betwixt Cæsar and Pompey;

Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni ‡. i. e.

————— Heaven approves,

The conquering cause, the conquer'd Cato loves.

And the fourth, upon the praises of Cæsar, says,

Et cuncta terrarum subiecta,

Præter atrocem animum Catonis §. i. e.

And conquer'd all where'er his eagle flew,

But stubborn Cato nothing could subdue.

And the master of the choir after having characterised the greatest Romans, ends thus,

————— *His dantem jura Catonem* ||. i. e.

And Cato giving laws to all the rest.

C H A P. XXXVII. *That we laugh and cry for the same thing.*

WHEN we read in history, that Antigonus was very much displeased with his son, for presenting him the head of king Pyrrhus his enemy, just killed fighting against him, and that seeing it he heartily wept **: That Rene, duke of Lorrain, also lamented the death of Charles, duke of Burgundy ††, whom he had

* Mart. lib. vi. epig. 32.
iv. v. 87.

† Lucan lib. i. v. 121.

§ Hor. Car. lib.

ii. od. i. v. 23, 24.

|| Virgil Æneid. lib. viii. v. 670.

** Plutarch in the life Pyrrhus.

†† Before Nancy in 1477.

had just defeated, and appeared in mourning at his funeral: and that, in the battle of Auroy * (which the count de Montfort obtained over Charles de Blois, his competitor for the dutchy of Brittany,) the conqueror meeting the corpse of his enemy, was much afflicted at his death †: We must not presently cry out,

*Et così aven che l'animo ciascuna,
Sua passion sotto el contrario manto,
Ricopre, con la vista hor' chiara, hor' bruna* ‡. i. e.
There ev'ry one, whether of joy or woe,
The passion of their mind can palliate so,
As when most griev'd, to shew a visage clear,
And melancholick, when best pleas'd t'appear.

When Pompey's head was presented to Cæsar, the histories tell us, that he turned away his face, as from a sad and displeasing object. There had been so long a correspondence and partnership betwixt them, in the management of the publick affairs, so great a community of fortunes, so many mutual offices, and so near in alliance, that this countenance of his ought not to suffer under any misinterpretation; or to be altogether suspected, for false or counterfeit, as this author seems to believe:

————— *Tutumque putavit
Jam bonus esse socer, lachrymas non sponte cadentes
Effudit, gemitusque expressit pectore læto* §. i. e.

————— And now he saw
'Twas safe to be a pious father-in-law,
He shed forc'd tears, and from a joyful breast,
Fetch'd sighs and groans.

For tho' it be true, that most of our actions, are no other than vizard, and but masquerades and disguise, and that it may sometimes be true, that,

Hæredis fletus sub personâ rîus est ||. i. e.
The heirs dissembled tears behind the skreen

Could one but peep, would joyful smiles be seen.

Yet, in judging of these accidents, we are to consider how much our souls are oftentimes agitated with different

* In 1364 in the reign of Charles V. king of France.

† Froissart, vol. i. c. 228.

‡ Petrarch. fol. 25, edition of 1545.

§ Lucan. lib. ix. v. 1037.

|| Aulus Gellius ex Noct. Publii

Mimis, lib. xvii. c. 14.

ferent passions. And, as they say, that in our bodies there is a collection of divers humours, of which, that is the governing passion, which, according to the complexion we are of, is commonly most predominant in us: so, tho' the soul have in it divers motions to give it agitation; yet there must be one master of the field, yet not with so intire a conquest, but that through the flexibility and inconstancy of the soul, those of less authority, may, upon occasion, reassume their place, and make a little sally in turn. Thence it is that we see not only children, who simply follow nature, often laugh and cry at the same thing; but not one of us can boast, what journey soever he may have in hand that he has set his heart upon, but when he comes to part with his family and friends, he will find something within that troubles him; and tho' he refrain his tears, yet he puts foot in the stirrup, with a sad and cloudy countenance: And what kindly flame soever may have warmed the heart of well-born virgins, yet they are fain to be forced from about their mothers necks, to be put to bed to their husbands, whatever this boon companion is pleased to say:

Esse novis nuptis odio Venus, anne parentum

Frustrantur falsis gaudia lachrymalis,

Uberrim thalami quas intra limina fundunt?

*Non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, juverint *. i. e.*

Does the fair bride the sport so mainly dread,

That she takes on so, when she's put to bed,

Her parents joys r'allay with a feign'd tear;

She does not cry in earnest, I dare swear.

So that it is not strange to lament the death of a person, whom a man would by no means should be alive: when I rattle my man, I do it with all the mettle I have, and give him no feigned, but hearty real curses; but the heat being over, if he should stand in need of me, I should be very ready to do him good; for I instantly turn over a new leaf. When I call them calf and coxcomb, I do not mean to entail those titles upon him for ever; neither do I think I give myself the lie in calling him an honest fellow presently after. No one quality engrosses us abstractedly and universally. Were it not the

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sign of a fool to talk to one's self, there would hardly be a day or hour wherein I might not be heard to mutter to myself, and against myself, 'Wretched fool that I am!' And yet I do not think that to be my character. He who seeth me one while cold, and presently very fond of my wife, believing the one or the other to be counterfeited, is an ass. Nero taking leave of his mother, whom he sent to be drowned, was nevertheless sensible of some emotion at this farewell, and was struck with horror and pity. It is said, that the light of the sun is not one continuous thing, but that it darts new rays so quick one upon another, that we cannot perceive the intermission.

*Largus enim liquidi fons luminis ætherius sol
Irrigat assidue cælum candore recenti,
Suppetit atque novo confestim lumine lumen* *. i. e.
For the æthereal sun that shines so bright,
Being a fountain large of liquid light,
With fresh rays sprinkles still the chearful sky,
And with new light the light does still supply.

Just so the soul variously and imperceptibly darts out her passions.

Artabanus surprising once his nephew Xerxes, chid him for the sudden alteration of his countenance. As he was viewing his forces without number, passing over the Hellespont, for the Grecian expedition, his heart leaped with joy, to see so many thousands of men under his command; it also appeared in the gaiety and alacrity of his countenance †. But his thoughts at the same instant suggesting to him, that of so many lives, in an age at most, there would not be one left, he knit his brows, and grew sad, even to tears.

We have resolutely pursued the revenge of an injury received, and felt a singular satisfaction in the victory: yet we are sorry, though it is not for the victory that we weep: There is nothing altered in that: but the soul looks upon the thing with another eye, and represents it to itself with another kind of face; for every thing has many biasses and aspects, relations, old acquaintances, and friendships, possess our imagination, and make it tender

* Lucret. lib. v. ver. 282, &c.

† Herodot. lib. vii. p. 436, 457.

tender for the time, according to their condition ; but the revolution is so quick, that we do not perceive it go off.

*Nil adeò fieri celeri ratione videtur,
Quàm si mens fieri proponit, & inchoat ipsa.
Ocius ergo animus quàm res se perciet ulla,
Ante oculos quarum in promptu natura videtur * . i. e.*

As no one action seems so swiftly done,
As what the mind has plann'd, and once begun ;
This observation evidently proves,
The mind than other things more swiftly moves.

And, therefore, while we desire to make a work complete, and all of a piece, we deceive ourselves. When Timoleon laments the murder he had committed, after so mature and generous deliberation, he does not lament the liberty restored to his country, he does not lament the tyrant, but he laments his brother: one part of his duty is performed, let us give him leave to perform the other.

C H A P. XXXVIII. Of solitude.

LET us lay aside that old comparison betwixt the active, and the solitary life, and as for the fine saying which is made a cloak for ambition and avarice, ' That we are not born for ourselves, but for the publick,' let us boldly appeal to those who are in publick affairs, let them lay their hands upon their hearts, and then say, whether on the contrary, they do not rather aspire to titles and offices, and that hurry of the world, to make their private advantage at the publick expence. The corrupt means by which they push their way in our time, manifestly declare that their end cannot be very good. Let us then tell ambition, that it is she herself who gives us a taste of solitude ; for what does she so much avoid as society ? what does she so much seek as elbow-room ? A man may do well, or ill, every where : but if what Bias says be true, that the greatest part is the worst part, or what the preacher says, that there is not one good of a thousand ;

*Rari quippe boni numero vix sunt totidem quot
Thebarum portæ vel divitis ostia Nili † . i. e.*

How

* Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 183, &c.

† Juv. Sat. 13. ver. 26, 27.

How few good men are number'd on this soil !

Scarce more than gates of Thebes, or mouths of Nile.

the contagion is very dangerous in the crowd.

* There is a necessity for men either to imitate others, or to hate them : both are to be avoided ; the former, lest we become like to the wicked, because they are many ; the latter, for fear of hating the many, because they are unlike us. And merchants that go to sea have reason to be cautious, that those who embark with them in the same bottom be neither dissolute blasphemers, nor vitious otherways ; looking upon such society as unfortunate. And therefore it was, that Bias † pleasantly said to some, who being with him in a dangerous storm, implor'd the assistance of the gods, ' Hold your peace, ' that they may not know you are in my company : ' And as a more forcible example, Albuquerque, vice-roy in the Indies, for Emanuel king of Portugal, being in extreme peril of shipwreck, took a little boy upon his shoulders for this only end ; that being a sharer of their danger, his innocency might serve to protect him, and to recommend him to the divine favour, that they might get to shore : A wise man may indeed live every where content, and be retired even in the crowd of a palace : But if it be left to his own choice, he will tell you, that he would fly the very sight of the latter ; he can endure it if need be ; but if it be left to him, he will chuse the first. He does not think himself sufficiently rid of vice, if he must yet contend with it in other men : Charondas ‡ punished those for ill men, who were convict of keeping ill company. There is nothing so unsociable, and sociable, as man ; the one by his vice, the other by his nature. And Antisthenes §, in my opinion, did not give him a satisfactory answer, who reproached him with frequenting ill company, by saying, ' That the physicians lived well ' amongst the sick : ' For if they contribute to the health of

* These reflections were a genuine translation from Seneca, ep. 7. who has these very words, ' Necessesse est aut imitari aut oderis.

' Utrumque autem devitandum est, ne vel similis malis fias, quia multi sunt, neve inimicus multis, quia dissimiles sunt.'

† Diog. Laert. in the life of Bias, lib i sect. 6. ‡ Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xii. ch. 4. § Diog. Laert. in the life of Antisthenes.

of the sick, no doubt but by the contagion, continual sight of, and familiarity with diseases, they must of necessity impair their own health.

Now the end I suppose is all one, to live at more leisure, and at greater ease: but men do not always take the right course to it; for they often think they have taken leave of business, when they have only exchanged one employment for another. There is little less trouble in governing a family, than a whole kingdom: Wherever the mind is perplexed, it is in an entire disorder, and domestick employments are not less troublesome for being less important. Moreover, because we have left the court and the exchange, we are not rid of the principal vexations of life.

————— *Ratio, & prudentia curas,
Non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert* *. i. e.

Reason and prudence our affections ease,
Not the bold site that wide commands the seas.

Our ambition, our avarice, irresolution, fears, and inordinate desires, do not leave us when we change our country:

Et post equitem sedet atra cura †. i. e.

And when he rides, black care sits close behind.

Our passions oft follow us even to cloisters, and philosophical schools; nor desarts, nor caves, hair-shirts, nor fasts, can disengage us from them:

————— *Hæret lateri lethalis arundo* ‡. i. e.

The fatal shaft sticks to the wounded side.

One telling Socrates §, that such a one was nothing improved by his travels. ‘No wonder, said he, for he travelled along with himself.’

*Quid terras alio calentes
Sole mutamus? patriâ quis exul*

Se quoque fugit || ? i. e.

To change our native soil, why should we run

To seek out one warm’d by another sun?

For yet what banish’d man could ever find,

He went abroad, and left himself behind?

If

* Hor. lib. i. epist. 11. ver. 25, 26. † Hor. lib. iii. ode 1. ver. 40. ‡ Virg. Æn. lib. iv. ver. 73. § Senec. epist. 104. || Hor. lib. ii. ode 16. ver. 18, &c.

If a man do not first discharge both himself and his mind, of the burden with which he finds himself oppressed, motion will but make it press the harder; as in a ship, the lading is of less incumbrance, when it is well settled. You do a sick man more harm than good, in removing him from place to place; you confirm the disease by stirring him, as stakes sink deeper into the earth, by being moving up and down. And therefore it is not enough to be remote from the publick; it is not enough to shift the situation, a man must fly from the popular dispositions that have taken possession of his soul, he must lay himself aside, and come to himself again.

— *Rupi jam vincula, dicas,*

*Nam luctata canis nodum arripit, attamen illa
Cum fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catenæ *.* i. e.

Thou'lt say, perhaps, that thou hast broke the chain,
Why, so the dog has gnaw'd the knot in twain
That ty'd him there, but as he flies, he feels
The pond'rous chain still rattling at his heels.

We still carry our fetters along with us; it is not an absolute liberty; we still look back upon what we have left behind us; our heads are full of it.

— *Nisi purgatum est pectus, quæ prælia nobis
Atque pericula tunc ingratis insinuandum?*

*Quantæ conscindunt hominum cuppedinis acres
Sollicitum curæ, quantique perinde timores?*

*Quidve superbia, spurcities, petulantia, quantas
Efficiunt cladeis, quid luxus, desidie/que †?* i. e.

Unless the mind be purg'd, what conflicts streight,
And dangers will it not insinuate!

Th' ungrateful man, how many bitter cares,
Do gall, and fret, and then how many fears!

What horrid slaughters do from pride ensue
From sloth and lust, petulance, and lux'ry too?

Our disease is in the mind, which cannot escape from itself;

In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit nunquam ‡. i. e.

Still in the mind the fault does lie,

That never from itself can flee.

and

* Persius, Sat. 5. ver. 158, &c.

† Lucret. lib. v. ver.

44 — 49.

‡ Hor. lib. i. epist. 14.

and therefore is to be called in, and contracted within itself. This is the true solitude, and such as may be enjoyed even in populous cities, and the courts of kings; though more commodiously a-part.

Now if we will attempt to live alone, and to get rid of company, let us so order it, that our contentment may be in our own power. Let us dissolve all obligations that attach us to others: let us be so far our own masters, that we may live alone in good earnest, and live at our ease too.

Stilpo having escaped from the fire that consumed the city where he lived, by which his wife, children, with all his substance, were destroyed, Demetrius Poliorcetes, seeing his countenance not dismayed in so great a ruin of his country, asked him if he had received no loss *? To which he made answer, no; and that, God be thanked, nothing was lost of his. This also was the meaning of the Philosopher Antisthenes, when he pleasantly said, † that men should only furnish themselves with such things as could float on the water, and swim with the owner to escape a shipwreck; and certainly a wise man loses nothing, if he save but himself. When the city of Nola was ruined by the Barbarians, Paulinus, who was bishop of that place, having there lost all he had, and being himself a prisoner, prayed after this manner, ‘ † O Lord, defend me from being sensible of this loss; for thou knowest, they have yet touched nothing that I could call mine;’ the riches that made him rich, and the goods that made him good, remained still entire.

This it is to make choice of treasures that can secure themselves from injury, and to hide them in a place, to which no one can enter, and which cannot be betrayed by any but ourselves. Wives, children and goods, must be had, and especially health, by him that can get them; but we are not so to set our hearts upon them, as if our happiness must have its dependance on them; we must reserve a back-room, wholly our own, and entirely free, wherein to settle our true liberty, our principal retreat and solitude. And here we must have
our

* Senec. Ep. ix.
Antisthenes.

† Diogenes Laert. in the life of Antisthenes.
† Augustin de civitate Dei, lib. i. ch. xviii.

our common converse with ourselves, and so privately, that no knowledge or communication of any foreign concern, be admitted to it, there to talk and to laugh, as if without wife, children, goods, train, or attendance, to the end, that when we happen to lose any, or all of these, it may be no new thing to us to be without them. We have a mind pliable of itself, that is capable of getting company, has wherewithal to attack, and to defend, to receive, and to give: let us not then fear in this solitude, to languish under an uncomfortable idleness.

In solis sis tibi turba locis *. i. e.

In solitary places be

Unto thyself good company.

Virtue is satisfied with herself, without discipline, without words, without effects. In our ordinary actions, there is not one of a thousand that concerns ourselves: he that thou seest scrambling up the ruins of that wall, furious, and out of his mind, against whom so many muskets are levelled; and that other, all over scars, pale, and fainting with hunger, and yet resolved rather to die, than to open his gate to him, dost thou think that these men are there upon their own account? No, peradventure, in the behalf of one whom they never saw, and that never concerns himself what becomes of them, but lies wallowing the while in sloth and pleasure: this other slaving, blear-ey'd, slovenly fellow, that thou seest come out of his study after midnight, dost thou think he has been tumbling over books, to learn how to become a better man, wiser, and more content? no such matter, he will there end his days, but he will teach posterity the measure of Plautus's verses, and the orthography of a Latin word: who does not voluntarily exchange his health, his repose, and his very life, for reputation and glory, the most useless, frivolous, and false coin, that is current amongst us? our own death does not sufficiently terrify us, but we moreover charge ourselves with that of our wives, children, and family: our own affairs do not afford us anxiety enough, but we also meddle with those of our neighbours

* Tibull. lib. iv. Eleg. xiii. ver. 12.

neighbours and friends, to crack our brains, and torment us.

*Vah quinquamne hominem in animum instituire, aut
Parare, quod sit charius, quam ipse est sibi †? i. e.*

Alas! what mortal will be so unwise,

Any thing dearer than himself to prize?

Solitude seems to me to be most becoming and rational, in such as have already employed their most active and flourishing age in the world's service; by the example of Thales. It is enough to have lived for others, let us at least live out the small remnant of life for ourselves; let us now call in our thoughts and intentions to ourselves, and consult our own ease: it is no light thing to make a sure retreat; there will be enough to do, without a mixture of other enterprizes. Since God gives us leisure to prepare for our remove, let us make ready, truss our baggage, take leave betimes of the company; let us disentangle ourselves from those violent importunities that engage us elsewhere, and alienate us from ourselves: we must break the knot of our obligations, how strong soever, and no longer love this or that; but espouse nothing beside ourselves: that is to say, let the remainder be our own; but not so joined, and so close rivetted, as not to be forced away without flaying us, and tearing away part of us with it.

The greatest thing in the world is for a person to know that he is his own master. It is time to wean ourselves from society, when we cannot add any thing to it; and he that is not in a condition to lend, must take care not to borrow. Our forces and abilities fail us; let us call them in, and keep them to ourselves: he that can within himself, obliterate and jumble together the offices of so many friendships, and of society, let him do it: in this decay of nature, which renders him useless, burthensome, and troublesome to others, let him have a care of being useless, burthensome, and uneasy to himself: let him sooth and caress himself; and, above all things, be sure to govern himself with awe and reverence to his reason and conscience, so as to be ashamed to make a false step in their presence. ‘Rarum est
‘enim

† Ter. Adelph. Act. 1. sect. i. ver. 13, 14.

'enim, ut satis se quisque vereatur * . i. e. For it is rarely seen that men have respect and reverence enough for themselves.' Socrates says, that youth are to cause themselves to be instructed, grown men to exercise themselves in well doing, and old men to retire from all civil and military employments, living at their own discretion, without the obligation to any office.

There are some complexions more proper for these precepts of retirement, than others. Such as are of a moist and cold constitution and of a tender will and affection, and which is not easily subdued nor employed, as I am, both by nature and reason, will sooner incline to this advice, than active and busy souls, which embrace all, engage in all, and are hot upon every thing; who offer, present, and give themselves up to every occasion. We are to serve ourselves with these accidental and extraneous things, so far as they are pleasant to us, by no means to lay our principal foundation there. This is no true one, neither nature nor reason allow it so to be, and why therefore should we, contrary to their laws, make our own contentment a slave to the power of another? to anticipate also the accidents of fortune, and to deprive ourselves of those advantages we have in our own hands, as several have done out of devotion, and some philosophers by reason; to serve a man's self, to lie hard, to put out our own eyes, throw wealth into the river, and to seek our grief, (some by the uneasiness and misery of this life, to acquire bliss in another; others by laying themselves low, to avoid the danger of a new fall,) are acts of an excessive virtue. The stoutest and most obstinate natures, render even their secret retirements, glorious and exemplary.

———*Tuta, & parvula laudo,*

Cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:

Verum ubi quid melius contigit, & unctius, idem

Hos sapere, & solos aio bene vivere, quorum

Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis † . i. e.

Thus I, when better entertainments fail,
Bravely commend a plain and frugal meal:

On

* Pythag.

† Hor. lib. i. epist. 15. v. 42—46.

On cheaper suppers, shew myself full wise;
But if some dainties more luxurious rise,
I call those wise, and blest, and only those,
Whose large estates their splendid mansion shews.

A great deal less would serve my turn well enough. It is enough for me, under fortune's favour, to prepare myself for her disgrace, and, being at my ease, to represent to myself, as far as my imagination can stretch, the ill to come; as we do at jousts and tiltings, where we counterfeit a war in the greatest calm of peace. I do not think Arcefilaus * the philosopher a whit the more extravagant, for knowing that he made use of gold and silver vessels, when the condition of his fortune allowed him so to do; but have a better opinion of him, than if he had denied himself what he used with liberality and moderation.

I see the utmost limits of natural necessity, and considering the poor man begging at my door, oftentimes more jocund and more healthy than I myself am, I put myself into this place, and attempt to dress my mind after his mode; and running, in like manner, over other examples, tho' I fancy death, poverty, contempt, and sickness treading on my heels, I easily resolve not to be afraid of what one, so much my inferior, bears with so much patience, and am not willing to believe that a less understanding can do more than a greater; or that argument can do as much as custom: And knowing how trifling these accidental conveniences are, I do not forget, in the height of all my enjoyments, to make my chief prayer to Almighty God, that he will please to render me content with myself, and the condition wherein I am. I see several young men very gay and frolick; who nevertheless keep a heap of pills in their trunks at home, to take when the rheum shall fall, which they fear so much the less, because they think they have a remedy at hand: every one should do the same, and, moreover, if they find themselves subject to some more violent disease, should furnish themselves with such medicines as may benumb and stupify the part.

The employment a man should chuse for such a life, ought neither to be laborious nor tedious, otherwise it is
to

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Arcefilaus, lib. iv. sect. 38.

to no purpose at all to be retired : and this depends upon every one's particular taste ; mine has no manner of complacency for husbandry, and such as love it ought to apply themselves to it with moderation.

*Conantur sibi res, non se submittere rebus**. i. e.

A man should to himself his business fit,

But should not to affairs himself submit.

Husbandry is otherwise a very servile employment, as Sallust tells us ; tho' some parts of it are more excusable than the rest, as the care of gardens, which Zenophon attributes to Cyrus, and a mean may be found out betwixt that low and sordid application, so full of solicitude, which is seen in men who make it their entire business and study ; and that stupid and extraordinary negligence letting all things go at random, which we see in others.

————— *Democriti pecus edit agellos,*

Cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox†. i. e.

Democritus's cattle spoil his corn,

Whilst he from thence on fancy's wings is born.

But let us hear what advice the younger Pliny gives his friend ‡ Cornelius Rufus, upon the subject of solitude ; I advise thee, in the profound but plentiful retirement wherein thou art, to leave to thy servants the care of thy husbandry, and to addict thyself to the study of letters, in order to extract from thence something that may be for ever thine own. By which, he means reputation ; a humour like Cicero's, who says, that he would employ his solitude and retirement, from public affairs, to acquire by his writings an immortal life.

————— *Usque adeo ne*

Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter §. i. e.

Must thou thy knowledge then be forc'd to own

Useless to thee, unless to others known ?

It appears to be reason, when a man talks of retiring from the world, that he should look quite out of himself. These do it but by halves. They design well enough for themselves, it is true, when they shall be no more in it ; but still they pretend to extract the fruits of that design from the world, tho' absent from it, by a supposition ridiculously contradictory.

The

* Hor. Ep. 1. lib. i. v. 19. † Hor. Ep. 12. lib. i. v. 12, 13.

‡ In Ep. 3. lib. i. to Canninius Rufus. § Pers. Sat. 1. v. 23, 24.

The imagination of those who seek solitude upon the account of devotion, filling their hopes with certainty of divine promises in the other life, is much more rationally founded. They propose to themselves God, an infinite object in goodness and power. The soul has there wherewithal, at full liberty, to satiate her desires. Afflictions and pains turn to their advantage, while they are employed for the acquisition of health, and joys everlasting. Death is to be wished for, as it is the passage to so perfect a condition. The severity of the rules they impose upon themselves, is soon softened by custom, and their carnal appetites damped and subdued, by denying them; for they are only supported by use and exercise. This sole end therefore, viz. another happy and immortal life, justly merits that we should abandon the pleasures and conveniences of this. And he that can really and constantly inflame his soul with ardor of his lively faith and hope, does erect for himself in this solitude, a more voluptuous and delicious life, than any other sort of life whatever.

Neither the end then, nor the means of this advice of Pliny's *, pleases me, for we often fall out of the frying-pan into the fire. This book-work is as painful as any other, and as great an enemy to health, which ought to be the chief care of every man; neither ought a man to be lulled with the pleasure of it, which is the same that destroys the frugal, the avaritious, the voluptuous, and the ambitious man. The wise give us caution enough, to beware the treachery of our desires, and to distinguish true and entire pleasures, from such as are mixed and complicated with great pain. For the greatest part of pleasures, (say they) tickle and caress, only to strangle us, like those thieves the Egyptians called *Phileras* †; and if the head-ach should come before drunkenness, we should have care of drinking too much: but pleasure to deceive us marches before, and conceals her train. Books are pleasant, but if by too much conversing with them, we impair our health, and spoil our good humour, two of the best enjoyments we have, let us give it over and quit them; I for my part am one of those, who think

* Viz. The advice of Pliny and Cicero, that we should quit business, and apply to study, in order to get immortal fame by some composition. † Seneca, Ep. 51.

think that no fruit derived from them, can recompence so great a loss. As men who feel themselves weakened by a long series of indisposition, give themselves up at last to the mercy of medicine, and prescribe to themselves certain rules of living, which they are never more to transgress; so he who retires, weary of, and disgusted with the common way of living, ought to model this new one, he enters into, by the rules of reason, and to regulate and establish it by premeditation, and reason. He ought to have taken leave of all sorts of labour, what face soever it bears, to shake off all those passions in general, which disturb the tranquillity of body and soul, and to chuse the way that best suits with his own humour:

Unusquisque sua noverit ire via *. i. e.

Ev'ry one best doth know,

In his one way to go.

In husbandry, study, hunting, and all other exercises, men are to proceed to the utmost limits of pleasure; but must take heed of engaging further, where begins a mixture of trouble. We are to reserve so much occupation and employment only, as is necessary to keep us in breath, and to defend us from the inconveniences, which the other extreme, of a dull and stupid laziness, brings along with it.

There are some sterile, knotty sciences, and chiefly hammered out for the crowd; let such be left to them who are engaged in the public service: I, for my part, care for no other books, but either such as are pleasant and easy, to delight me, or those that comfort and instruct me how to regulate my life and death.

Tacitum sylvas inter reptare salubres,

Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonaque est †. i. e.

Silently meditating in the groves,

What best a wise and honest man behoves.

Wiser men may carve to themselves a repose wholly spiritual, as they have great force and vigour of mind; but for me, who have not an extraordinary soul, I find it very necessary to support myself with bodily conveniences; and age having of late deprived me of those pleasures that were most to my fancy, I instruct and whet my appetite

* Propert. lib. ii. Eleg. 25. v. 38.

† Hor. lib. i. Ep. 4.

petite to those that remain, and are more suitable to this other season. We ought to take fast hold of the pleasures of life, which our years, one after another, snatch away from us.

——— *Carpamus dulcia, nostrum est,*

Quod vivis, cinis, & manes, & fabula fies *. i. e.

Let us enjoy life's sweets, for shortly we,

Ashes, pale ghosts, and fables, all shall be.

Now as to glory, the end that Pliny and Cicero propose to us, I am far from putting it to the account; for ambition, is the most contrary quality to solitude; and glory and repose are so inconsistent, that they cannot possibly inhabit in one and the same place; and, for so much as I understand, these have only their arms and legs disengaged from the crowd, their mind and intention remaining engaged in it behind more than ever.

Tun', vetule, auriculis alienis colligis escas †? i. e.

Dost thou, old dotard, at these years,

Steal scraps of verse for others ears?

They are only retired to take a better leap, and by a stronger motion, to make the greater push into the crowd. Will you see how they shoot short? Let us put into the balance, the advice of two philosophers of two very different sects ‡, writing the one to Idomeneus, the other to Lucilius, their friends, to draw them to solitude, from worldly honours, and the administration of public affairs. You have, say they, hitherto lived swimming and floating, come now, and die in the harbour: you have given the former part of your life to the light, give what remains to the shade. It is impossible to give over business, if you do not quit the fruit of it: therefore disengage yourselves from all concern for fame and glory. It is to be feared, the lustre of your former actions will throw too much light upon you, and follow you into your most private retreat: quit, with other pleasures, that which proceeds from the approbation of another: and as to your knowledge and parts, never concern yourselves §, they will not lose their effect, if your-

* Persius, Sat. 5. v. 15', &c.

† Persius, Sat. i. v. 19.

‡ Epicurus and Seneca. See Seneca, Ep. 21.

§ 'Cur ergo, inquis, ista didici? Non est quod timeas ne operam perdidideris: Tibi didicisti.' Seneca, Epist. 7.

yourselfs be ever the better for them. Remember him, who being asked, "Why he took so much pains in an art *, that could come to the knowledge of but few persons?" "A few are enough for me," replied he, "I have enough of one, I have enough of never a one: He said true, you and a companion, are theatre enough for one another †, or you for yourself ‡. Be you one to the whole people, and the whole people but one to you || It is an unworthy ambition for a man to think to derive glory from his sloth and privacy; you are to do like the beasts of chace §, who put out the tract at the entrance into their den. You are no more to concern yourselfs what the world says of you, but what you are to say of yourselfs; retire yourselfs into yourselfs, but first prepare yourselfs there to receive yourselfs **. It were a folly to trust yourselfs in your own hands, if you cannot govern yourselfs ††: A man may as well miscarry alone, as in company. Till you have rendered yourselfs as such persons, before whom you dare not trip, and till you have a bashfulness and respect for yourselfs. 'Versentur species honestæ animo ††; i. e. Let just and honest things be still represented to the mind. Present continually to your imagination, Cato, Phocion, and Aristides, in whose presence fools themselves would hide their faults; and make them controulers of all your intentions. Should they deviate any where, your respect to them will again set you right; they will keep you in this way of being contented with yourselfs; to borrow nothing of any but from yourselfs; to stop and fix your souls in certain limited thoughts, wherein they may please themselves, and having understood the true and real goods, which men the

* Senec. Ep. 7. † Id. Ibid. ‡ 'Satis magnum alteri theatrum sumus.' This is what Epicurus wrote to one of his friends. || Seneca ascribes this saying to Democritus, Ep. 7. § Seneca, Ep. 68. ** Id. ibid. †† 'Prodest sine dubio custodem sibi imposuisse, et habere quem respicias, quem interesse tuis cogitationibus judices. Omnia nobis mala solitudo persuadet. Cum jam profeceris ut sibi tibi etiam tui reverentia, licebit dimittas pædagogum. Interim te aliquorum auctoritate custodi. Aut Cato ille sit, aut Scipio, aut Lælius, aut cujus interventa perditique quoque homines vitia supprimerent, dum te efficis coram quo peccata non audies.' Senec. Ep. 25. †† Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. c. 22.

the more enjoy, the more they understand them, to rest satisfied, without desire or prolongation of life or fame. This is the precept of the true genuine philosophy, not of a boasting and prating philosophy, such as that of the two first *.

C H A P. XXXIX. *An Observation concerning Cicero, &c.*

ONE word more, by way of comparison betwixt this couple. There are to be gathered out of the writings of Cicero, and this younger Pliny, (who in my opinion, little resembles his uncle in his humour) infinite testimonies of a nature beyond measure ambitious, and amongst others, this for one, that they both, in the face of all the world, solicited the historians of their time †, not to forget them in their memoirs; and fortune, as if in spite, has made the vanity of those requests live upon record down to this age of ours, and has long since damned the histories.

But this exceeds all meanness of spirit, in persons of such quality as they were, to think to derive any great renown from babbling and prating; even by the publishing their private letters to their friends, so that as some of them were never sent, the opportunity being lost, they nevertheless exposed them to the light, with this worthy excuse, that they were unwilling their labours, and lucubrations should be lost. Was it not very well becoming two consuls of Rome, sovereign magistrates of the republic that commanded the world, to spend their time in contriving quaint and elegant letters, thence to gain the reputation of being masters of their own

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* Pliny the younger, and Cicero.

† Cicero, writing to Luceius, Ep. 12. lib. v. and Pliny to Tacitus, Ep. 33. lib. vii. with this most remarkable difference, that the first earnestly desires his friend, not to attach himself scrupulously to the rules of, but boldly to leap the barriers of truth in his favour. 'Te place etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis et in ea leges historiæ negligas,' whereas Pliny declares expressly that he does not desire Tacitus to give the least offence to the truth; 'quanquam non exigo ut excedas rei actæ modum. Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit.' One would have thought that Montaigne should, in justice to Pliny, have distinguished him from Cicero, in this particular.

mother tongue? What could a pitiful school-master have done worse, who by such knowledge gets his living?

If the acts of Xenophon and Cæsar, had not very far transcended their eloquence, I scarce believe they would ever have taken the pains to have writ them. They made it their business to recommend not their speeches but their actions.

And could the perfection of eloquence add any honour suitable to the age of a great person, certainly Scipio and Lelius had never resigned the honour of their comedies, with all the luxuriancies and delicacies of the Latin tongue, to an African slave; for that that work was theirs, the beauty and excellency of it do sufficiently declare; besides, Terence himself confesses as much, and I should take it ill from any one that should dispossess me of that belief.

It is a kind of mockery, and affront, to extol a man for qualities misbecoming his condition, tho' otherwise commendable in themselves, nor by such as ought not to be his chief talent: as if a man should commend a king, for being a good painter, a good architect, a good marksman, or a good runner at the ring; commendations that add no honour unless mentioned altogether, and in the train of those that more properly become him, namely, his justice, and the science of governing and conducting his people both in peace and war. Thus did agriculture an honour to Cyrus, and eloquence and learning to Charlemagne. I have, in my time, known some who, by a knack of writing, have got both the titles and calling, disown their apprenticeship, purposely corrupt their stile, and affect the ignorance of so vulgar a quality (which our nation observes to be rarely seen in very learned hands) to seek a reputation by better qualities.

Demosthenes his companions in the embassy to Philip, extolling that prince for being handsome, eloquent, and a hearty toper; Demosthenes replied, That those were commendations fitter for a woman, an advocate, a lawyer, or a sponge, than for a king*.

Imperet

* Plutarch in the life of Demosthenes, c. 4.

Imperet bellante prior jacentem

Lenis in hostem †. i. e.

First let his empire from his valour flow,
And then, by mercy on a prostrate foe.

It is not his profession to know either how to hunt, or to dance well.

Orabunt causas alii, cœlique meatus

Describent radio, & fulgentia sidera dicent;

Hic regere imperio populos sciat †. i. e.

Let others plead at the litigious bar,
Describe the spheres, point out each twinkling star,
This man can rule, a greater art by far.

Plutarch says, moreover, that to appear so excellent in these less necessary qualities, is to produce witness against a man's self, that he has spent his time and applied his study ill, which ought to have been employed in things more necessary, and useful. Philip king of Macedon, therefore, having heard that great Alexander his son, sang once at a feast to the wonder and envy of the best musicians there: 'Art not thou ashamed,' said he to him, 'to sing so well ||?' And to the same Philip, a musician said, with whom he was disputing about some things concerning his art: 'Heaven forbid! Sir,' said he, 'that so great a misfortune should ever befall you, as to understand these things better than I §!' A king should be able to answer, as Iphicrates did the orator, who pressed upon him, in his invective after this manner: 'And what art thou, that thou bravest at this rate? Art thou a man at arms, art thou an archer, art thou a pike-man? I am none of all this *; but I know how to command all these.' And Antisthenes took it for an argument, not much to the praise of Ismenias, that he was cried up for playing excellently well upon the flute.

I know, very well, that when I hear any one insist upon the language of essays, I had rather a great deal he would say nothing. It is not so much to elevate the stile, as to depress the sense, and so much the more offensively, as they do it more obliquely. Yet am I much deceived, if many other essayists, enter farther

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into

† Horat. Carm. sect. 2, v. 51, 52.

‡ Virg. Æn. lib. vi. v. 844.

|| Plutarch in the life of Pericles, c. 1.

§ In a tract of Plutarch

how to distinguish the flatterer from the friend, c. 25.

* Plu-

tarch in his treatise of fortune.

into the matter, and how well or ill soever, if any other writer has scattered things more material, or at least bolder upon this paper than myself. To make them the more regular, I only muster up the heads; should I annex the sequel, I should strangely enlarge this volume: And how many stories have I scattered up and down in this book, that I only touch upon, which should any one more curiously search into, they would find matter enough to produce infinite essays: neither those stories, nor my allegations do always serve simply for example, authority or ornament; I do not regard them only for the use I make of them: they often carry, besides what I apply them to, the seed of a more rich and a bolder matter, and sometimes contrarywise a more delicate sound both to myself, who will express no more of it in this place, and to others who shall happen to be of my air. But to return to the talent of speaking; I find no great choice betwixt not knowing to speak any thing but very ill, and not knowing any thing but speaking well. 'Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas*.' i. e. Neatness of stile, is no manly ornament. The sages tell us, that as to what concerns knowledge, there is nothing but philosophy; and as to what concerns effects, nothing but virtue, that is generally proper to all degrees, and to all orders.

There is something like this in these two other philosophers, for they also promise eternity, to the letters which they write to their friends; but it is after another manner, and by accommodating themselves, for a good end, to the vanity of another; for they write to them, that if the concern of making themselves known to future ages, and the thirst of glory, do yet detain them in the management of public affairs, and make them fear the solitude, and retirement to which they would persuade them; let them never trouble themselves more about it †, forasmuch as they shall have credit enough
with

* Senec. Ep. 95. † When Epicurus wrote to Idomeneus, then the slave of rigid power, and who had great affairs in his hands, to persuade him from a gay life, to the pursuit of true and solid glory: If, said he, you are fond of glory, my epistles will make you more celebrated than all things that you admire, and for which you are admired. Seneca, (Ep. 21.) who in the same epistle, says to his friend

with posterity to assure them, that were there nothing else but the very letters thus writ to them, those letters will render their names as known and famous as their own public actions could do. And besides this difference, these are not frothy and empty letters, that have nothing but well-chosen words, in a proper cadence, to support them, but rather replete and abounding with fine lessons of wisdom, by which a man may render himself not more eloquent, but more wise; and that instruct us not to speak, but to do well: away with that eloquence which so enchants us with its harmony, that we should more study it than things; unless you declare that of Cicero, to be of so extraordinary a perfection, as to form a compleat body of itself.

And of him, I shall add one story more, which we read of him to this purpose, whereby we shall be let fully into his temper. He was to make an oration in public, and found himself a little straitened in time, to fit his words to please him, when Eros*, one of his slaves, brought him word that the audience was deferred till the next day, at which he was so ravished with joy, that he enfranchised him for the good news.

As to this subject of letters, I will add this to what has been already said, that it is a kind of writing, wherein my friends think I can do something †; and I should rather have chose to publish my whimsies in that, than any other form, had I had to whom to write; but I wanted such a settled correspondency as I once had, to attract me to it, to raise my fancy, and to support me. For to traffic with the wind, as some others have done, and to forge vain names to correspond with, on a serious subject, I could never do it but in a dream, being a sworn enemy to all manner of falsification: I should have been more diligent, and more confidently secure, had I had a hearty friend, to whom to address, than to consider the different aspects of a whole people, and I am

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friend Lucilius, 'The very thing which Epicurus, could promise to his friend, I promise to you, Lucilius, I shall be in the favour of posterity: It is in my power to bring out names that shall be lasting.'

* Plutarch in his notable sayings of kings, &c. in the article of Cicero. † I have met with eight letters from Montaigne, where-with I shall enrich this edition, that may give some idea of what he here says.

deceived if I had not succeeded better : I have naturally a comic and familiar stile ; but it is a peculiar one, and not proper for publick business, my language being in all respects, too compact, irregular, abrupt and singular ; and as to letters of ceremony, that have no other substance, than a fine chain of courteous words, I am wholly to seek ; I have neither faculty, nor relish, for those tedious offers of service and affection ; I have not so much faith in them, and should not forgive myself, should I offer more than I intend, which is very different from the present practice ; for there never was so abject and servile ‘prostitutions of tenders of life, soul, devotion, adoration, vassal, slave,’ and I cannot tell what, as now ; when such expressions are so commonly and so indifferently posted to and fro by every one, and to every one, that when they would profess a stronger and more respectful inclination, they have not wherewithal to express it : I mortally hate all air of flattery, which is the cause that I naturally fall into a dry, rough, and crude way of speaking, which to such as do not know me, may favour a little of disdain : I honour those most to whom I pay the least ; and where my soul is cheerful, I forget all ceremonies ; I offer myself poorly but proudly, to them whose I effectually am, and tender myself the least to him, to whom I am the most devoted : methinks they should read it in my heart, and that my expression injures my conception. To bid welcome, take leave, give thanks, salute, offer my service, and such verbal formalities, as the ceremonious laws of our civility enjoin, I know no man so stupidly unprovided of language as myself : and have never been employed in writing letters of favour, and recommendation, but he for whom I wrote thought them cold and flat. The Italians are great printers of letters. I do believe I have a hundred several volumes of them ; of all which those of Hannibal Caro, seem to me to be the best : if all the paper I have formerly stained to the ladies, when my hand was really prompted by my passion, was now in being, there might peradventure be found a page worthy to be communicated to our young enamoratos, that are besotted with that fury.

I always write my letters in post-haste and so precipitately,

tately, that tho' mine is an intolerable bad hand, I rather chuse to write myself, than to employ another; for I can find none able to write fast enough for my dictatings and I never transcribe any. I have accustomed the great ones that know me to put up with my blots and dashes, and upon paper without fold or margent. Those letters that cost me the most pains, are the worst; when I drag the matter in, it is a sign that I am not there. I fall too without premeditation or design, the first paragraph begets the second, and so on. The letters of this age consist more in margent, and prefaces, than matter; I had rather write two letters, than close and fold up one, and always assign that employment to some other; so also, when the business is dispatched, I would, with all my heart, commission another hand, to add those long harangues, offers, and prayers that we place at the bottom, and should be glad that some new custom would discharge us of that unnecessary trouble; as also that of superscribing them with a train of qualities, and titles, which, for fear of mistakes, I have often omitted writing, and especially to men of the law and the revenue. So many are the innovations of offices, and so hard it is to place so many titles of honour in their proper and due order, which being dearly bought, they cannot be changed, nor omitted without offence. I find the same fault likewise in charging the title pages and inscriptions, of the books we commit to the press, with such a clutter of titles.

C H A P. XL. *That the relish of good and evil, does, in a great measure, depend upon the opinion we have of either.*

MEN (says an ancient Greek sentence) are tormented with the opinions they have of things, and not by the things themselves. It were a great point carried for the relief of our miserable human condition, could this proposition be established for true throughout. For if evils have no admission into us but by the judgment we ourselves make of them, it should seem that it is in our own power to despise them, or to turn them to good. If things surrender to our mercy, why do we not ma-

nage and accommodate them to our advantage? if what we call evil and torment, is neither evil nor torment of itself, but only our fancy gives it that quality, and makes it so, it is in our power to change it, and it being in our own choice, if there be no constraint upon us, we are strange fools, to take part with that side which is most disgustful to us, and to give sickness, want, and contempt, a sour nauseous taste, if it be in our power to give them a more grateful relish, and if fortune simply provide the matter, it is for us to give it the form.

Now that what we call evil, is not so of itself, or at least, be it what it will, that it depends upon us, to give it another taste or complexion, (for all comes to one) let us examine how this can be maintained. If the original being of those things we fear, had credit to lodge itself in us, by its own authority, it would lodge itself in like manner in all; for men are all of the same kind, and, saving in greater or less proportions, are all provided with the same tools and instruments to conceive and to judge; but the diversity of opinions we have of those things, does clearly evidence, that they only enter us by composition: one person, peradventure, admits them in their true state; but a thousand others give them a new, and contrary being in their breast.

We hold death, poverty, and pain, for our principal enemies; but this death which some repute the most dreadful of all dreadful things, who does not know that others call it the only secure harbour from the tempests of life? the sovereign good of nature? the sole support of our liberty, and the common and ready remedy of all evils? and as the one expect it with fear and trembling, the other support it with greater ease than life. That blade complains of its facility.

Mors utinam pavidos vitâ subducere nollas,

*Sed Virtus te sola daret *! i. e.*

O death! I wish thou wouldst the coward spare,

That but the valiant, none might thee confer.

But let us leave this boasted courage. Theodorus answered Lyfimachus, who threatened to kill him, 'Thou wilt do a brave feat,' said he, 'to shew thou hast the force of Cantharides †.' The greatest part of philosophers

* Luc. lib. iv. ver. 58, 531.

† Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. ch. 40.

tophers are observed to have either purposely prevented, or hastened and assisted their own death. How many common people do we see led to execution, and to a death mixed also with shame, and sometimes with grievous torments, appear with such assurance, what through obstinacy, or natural simplicity, that a man can discover no change from their ordinary state of mind; settling their domestick affairs, recommending themselves to their friends, singing, preaching, and entertaining the people so much, as sometimes to fall into jests, and to drink to their companions, as did Socrates!

One that they were leading to the gallows, told them they must not carry him through such a street, lest a merchant, that lived there, should arrest him by the way for an old debt. Another said to the hangman, he must not touch his neck, for fear of making him laugh outright, he was so ticklish. Another answered his confessor, who promised him that he should that day sup with our Lord. Do you go then, said he, in my room; I, for my part, keep fast to day. Another having called for drink, and the hangman having drank first, said he would not drink after him, for fear of catching the pox. Every body has heard the tale of the Picard, to whom, being upon the ladder, they presented a whore, telling him (as our law does sometimes permit) that if he would marry her, they would save his life; he having a while viewed her, and perceiving that she halted, 'Come, 'tye up, tye up,' said he, 'she limps.' And they tell, also, of a fellow in Denmark, who being condemned to lose his head, and the like condition being proposed to him upon the scaffold, refused it, by reason the maid they offered him, had hollow cheeks, and too sharp a nose. A servant at Thoulouse, being accused of heresy, said only, that he believed as his master did, who was a young student prisoner with him, and he chose rather to die, than suffer himself to be persuaded that his master could err. We read, that when Lewis the eleventh took Arras, a great many of the inhabitants suffered themselves to be hanged, rather than they would say, 'God save the King.'

And amongst that mean-soul'd race of men, the buffoons, there have been some, who would not leave their fooling at the very moment of death. One that the hangman turned off the ladder, cried, 'Launch the galley,' an ordinary saying of his. Another, who was laid upon a bed of straw, by a fire in which he was to be burnt, being asked by the physician, where his pain lay, betwixt the bench and the fire,' said he; and the priest to give him the extreme unction, groping for his feet, which his pain had made him draw up, 'You will find them,' said he, 'at the end of my legs.' To one that exhorted him to recommend himself to God, 'Who is going to him?' said he: and the other replying, 'It will presently be yourself, if it be his good pleasure;' 'Would I were sure to be there to-morrow night,' said he; 'Do but recommend yourself to him,' said the other, 'and you will soon be there: I had best then,' added he, 'to carry my recommendations myself.'

In the kingdom of Narsingua, to this day, the wives of their priests are buried alive with the bodies of their husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands' funerals, which also they do not only constantly, but chearfully undergo *. At the death of their king, his wives and concubines, his favourites, all his officers, and domestick servants, which make up a great number of people, present themselves so chearfully to the fire, where his body is burnt, that they seem to take it for a great honour, to accompany their master in death.

During our late war of Milan, where there happened so many takings and retakings of towns, the people, impatient of so many various changes of fortune, took such a resolution to die, that I have heard my father say, he there saw a list taken of twenty-five masters of families, that made themselves away in one week's time:

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* In the Indies, says Cicero; where it is the custom for a man to have several wives, when the husband dies, the women dispute who was his greatest favourite; and she who carries the question, is overjoyed, and burnt on the same pile with her husband, *Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. ch. 27.* The same custom was observed by a people of Thrace, according to Herodotus, *lib. v. p. 33.*, and is still kept up in Indostan.

an accident somewhat resembling that of the Xanthians, who being besieged by Brutus, precipitated themselves, men, women, and children, into such a furious appetite of dying, that nothing could be done to escape death, which they did not put in practice to avoid life; inso-much, that Brutus had much ado to save but a very small number *.

Every opinion is of force enough to make itself to be espoused at the expence of life. The first article of that valiant oath, which Greece took and observed in the Median war, was, that every one should sooner exchange life for death, than their own laws for those of Persia. What a world of people do we see, in the wars betwixt the Turks and the Greeks, rather embrace a cruel death, than renounce circumcision for baptism? an example of which no sort of religion is incapable.

The kings of Castile, having banished the Jews out of their dominions, John, king of Portugal, in consideration of eight crowns a head, sold them a retirement into his, for a certain limited time; upon condition, that when it expired they should be gone; and he was to furnish them with shipping, to transport them to Africk. The limited day being come, and elapsed, they were given to understand, that such as did not obey should remain slaves: the vessels were very slenderly provided, and those who embarked in them were rudely and villainously used by the seamen, who besides other indignities, kept them cruising upon the sea, forwards and backwards, 'till they had spent all their provisions, and were constrained to buy of them at so dear rates, and for so long a time, that they set them not on shore, 'till they were all stripped to their very shirts. The news of this inhuman usage, being brought to those who remained behind, the greater part of them resolved upon slavery, and some made a shew of changing their religion. Emanuel, the successor of John, being come to the crown, first set them at liberty; but afterwards altering his mind, ordered them to depart his country, assigning three ports for their passage. He hoped (says the

* Fifty only, who were saved against their will. Plutarch, in the life of Marcus Brutus, ch. 8.

the bishop of Osorius, no contemptible Latin historian of our times) that though the favour of the liberty he had restored to them, failed of converting them to christianity; yet their aversion to expose themselves to the mercy of the mariners, and to abandon a country they were now habituated to, and grown very rich in, and to expose themselves in strange and unknown regions, would certainly do it: but finding himself deceived in his expectation, and that they were all resolved upon the voyage; he cut off two of the ports he had promised them, to the end that the length and troublesomeness of the passage, might reduce some; or that he might have opportunity, by crowding them into one place, the more conveniently to execute what he had designed; * which was to force all the children, under fourteen years of age, from the arms of their parents, to transport them from their sight and conversation, to a place where they might be instructed in our religion.

He says, that this produced a horrid spectacle: The natural affection betwixt the parents and their children, and moreover their zeal for their ancient belief, contending against this violent decree, fathers and mothers were commonly seen making themselves away; and, what was yet worse, precipitating their young children, out of love and compassion, into wells, to avoid the severity of this law. As to the remainder of them, the time that had been prefixed being expired, for want of means

* Mariana, the celebrated jesuit says, in his history of Spain, (printed at Mentz, tom. II. lib. xxvi. ch. 13-) that by an edict of this prince, those children were baptised by force: a cruel edict 'says the good jesuit,' altogether contrary to the christian laws and institutes. What, 'he adds,' shall violence be used to force men to embrace christianity, and in the most important affair of the world, to rob those whom God has been pleased to leave to their own discretion, of that heavenly present, LIBERTY! to proceed so far, is a horrible crime, as well as to force children with this view from the arms of their parents. The Portuguese nation, however, committed sin in these two points, having dragged the children to baptism by force, and without consent of their parents, and having engaged those more advanced in years to make profession of christianity, by loading them with reproaches and injuries, and especially by fraudulently depriving them of the means of retiring elsewhere, which they had expressly obliged themselves to grant them.

means to transport them, they returned into slavery. Some turned christians, upon whose faith, or that of their posterity, even to this day, which is an hundred years since, few Portuguese rely, or believe them to be real converts; though custom, and length of time, are much more powerful counsellors for such changes, than all constraints whatever.

In the town of Castlenau Darry, fifty hereticks, Albigenses, courageously suffered themselves to be burnt alive in one fire, rather than they would renounce their opinions. ‘*Quoties non modo ductores nostri, dicit Cicero, sed universi etiam exercitus, ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt?*’ i. e. How often have not only our leaders, but whole armies, run to certain death.

I have seen an intimate friend of mine run eagerly upon death, with a real affection, that was rooted in his heart by divers plausible arguments, which I could not dispossess him of, who upon the first occasion that he could do it with an appearance of honour, rushed into it without any visible reason, with an obstinate and ardent desire of dying. We have several examples, in our own times, of persons, even so much as little children, who for fear of some little chastisement, have dispatched themselves. And, what shall we not fear (says one of the ancients to this purpose) if we dread that which cowardice itself has chosen for its refuge? Should I here produce a long list of those of all sexes and conditions, and of all sects, even in the most happy ages, who have either with great constancy looked death in the face, or voluntarily sought it; and sought it not only to avoid the evils of this life, but some, purely to avoid the satiety of living; and others, for the hope of a better condition elsewhere, I should never have done. Nay, the number is so infinite, that in truth, I should with more ease reckon up those who have feared it. This one therefore shall serve for all; Pyrrho, the philosopher, being one day in a boat, in a very great tempest, singled out those he saw the most affrighted about him, and encouraged them by the example of a hog, that was there, nothing at all concerned at the storm*.

Shall

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Pyrrho, lib. ix. sect. 68.

Shall we then dare to say, that this advantage of reason, of which we so much boast, and upon the account of which we think ourselves masters and emperors over the rest of the creatures, was given us for our torment? to what end serves the knowledge of things, if it renders us more unmanly? if we lose the tranquillity and repose we should enjoy without it, and if it put us into a worse condition than Pyrrho's hog; shall we employ the understanding that was conferred upon us for our greatest good, to our own ruin, setting ourselves against the design of nature, and the universal order of things, which require that every one should make use of the faculties, and means he has, to his own advantage? your rule is true enough, says one, as to what concerns death: but what will you say of necessity? what will you moreover say of pain, which Aristippus, Hieronymus, and almost all the wise men, have reputed the worst of evils? and those who have denied it by word of mouth, have however confessed it in actions. Possidonius being extremely tormented with a sharp and painful disease, Pompeius came to visit him, excusing himself that he had taken so unseasonable a time to come to hear him discourse of philosophy; * God forbid, said Possidonius to him, that pain should ever have the power to hinder me from talking, and thereupon fell immediately upon this same topic, 'the contempt of pain:' but, in the mean time, his own infirmity was playing its part, and plagued him incessantly; on which he cried out, thou may'st do thy worst, pain; † but thou shalt never make me say, that thou art an evil. This story that they make such a clutter withal, what is there in it, I fain would know, to the contempt of pain? it only fights it with words, and in the mean time, if the shootings he felt did not move him, why did he interrupt his discourse? why did he fancy he did so great a thing, in forbearing to confess it an evil? all does not here consist in the imagination; our fancies may work upon other things: but this here is a certain science that is playing its part, of which our senses themselves are judges:

Qu.

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv. ch. 25.

† Id. ibid.

Qui nisi sunt veri, ratio quoque falsa sit omnis *. i. e.

Which if they are not here most true ;

Reason itself must be false too.

Shall we persuade our skins, that the lashes of a whip tickle us ; or our taste, that a portion of aloes is Graves wine. Pyrrho's hog is here in the same case with us ; he is not afraid of death, it is true, but if you beat him, he will cry out to some purpose : shall we force the general law of nature, which, in every living creature under heaven, is seen to tremble under pain ? the very trees seem to groan under injuries. Death is only felt by reason, forasmuch as it is the motion of an instant.

Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est præsentis in illa,

Morsque minus pœnæ, quam mora mortis habet †. i. e.

Death's always past, or coming on, in this.

There never any thing of present is :

And the delays of death more painful are,

And terrible, than death itself, by far.

A thousand beasts, a thousand men, are sooner dead than threatened. That also which we principally pretend to fear in death is pain, the ordinary fore-runner of it : yet, if we may believe a holy father ‡, ‘ *Malum mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem.* ’ Nothing makes death evil, but what follows it. And I should yet say more probably, that neither that which goes before, nor that which follows after, is an apprehension of death : we accuse ourselves falsely. And I find by experience, that it is rather the uneasiness of the imagination of death, that makes us impatient of pain ; and that we find it doubly grievous, as it threatens us with death. But reason accusing our cowardice, for fearing a thing so sudden, so inevitable, and so insensible, we admit this other as the more excusable pretence. All ills that carry no other danger along with them, but simply the evils themselves, we treat as things

* Lucret. lib. iv. ver. 487.

† The first verse of this distich is taken from a satirical composition which Montaigne's friend, ‘ Stephen de la Boetius,’ addressed to him, and of which I quoted the beginning in ch. 27, ‘ Of friendship.’ The second is from Ovid's epistle, Ariadne to Theseus, ver. 84.

‡ August. de Civitate Dei,

lib. i. ch. 11.

things of no danger. The tooth-ach, or the gout, as painful as they are, being yet not reputed mortal, who reckons them in the catalogue of diseases?

But let us presuppose, that in death we principally regard the pain; as also, that there is nothing to be feared in poverty, but that it throws us into its arms by thirst, hunger, cold, heat, watching, &c. which it makes us suffer, consequently we have nothing to do with pain. I will grant, and very willingly, that it is the worst accident of our being; for I am that man who the most hates and avoids it, considering that, hitherto, I thank God, I have had so little share of it; but it is in our power, if not to annihilate, at least to lessen it by patience, though the body should mutiny, to maintain the soul and reason, nevertheless, in a good temper. And were it not so, who had ever given reputation to virtue, valour, strength, magnanimity, and resolution? wherein were their parts to be played, if there were no pain to be defied? * *'Avida est periculi virtus.'* Valour is greedy of danger. Were there no lying upon the hard ground, no enduring, armed at all points, the noon-day heats, no feeding upon the flesh of horses and asses, no seeing a man's self hacked to pieces, no suffering a bullet to be pulled out from amongst the bones, nor the stitching up, cauterising, and searching of wounds, by what means were the advantages we covet to have over the vulgar to be acquired? it is far from flying evil and pain, what the sages say, that, of actions equally good, a man should most wish to perform that wherein there is great labour. *'Non est enim hilaritate, nec lascivia, nec risu, aut joco comite levitatis, sed sæpe etiam tristis firmitate, & constantia sunt beati †.'* i. e. Men are not happy by mirth and wantonness, nor by laughter or jesting, the companion of levity: but the graver sort are often so from their steadiness and constancy. And for this reason, it has ever been impossible to persuade our fore fathers, that the victories obtained by dint of force, and the hazard of war, were not more honourable, than those performed in great security, by wiles and stratagems.

Lælius

* Seneca.

† Cicero de Finib. lib. ii. c. 20.

Latius est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum *. i. e.

A handsome act more handsome does appear,

By how much more it cost the doer dear.

Besides, this ought to be our comfort, that naturally, if the pain be violent, it is but short, and if long, it is moderate, ‘ Si gravis, brevis : Si longus, levis †. Thou wilt not feel it long, if thou feelest it too much ; it will soon either put an end to itself, or to thee ; if thou can’st not support it, it will export thee. ‘ Me-
 ‘ mineris maximos morte finiri ; parvos multa habere
 ‘ intervalla requietis ! mediocrium nos esse dominos :
 ‘ ut si tolerabiles sint, feramus ; sin minus, è vita,
 ‘ quam ea non placeat tanquam è theatro exeamus ‡ :
 ‘ i. e.’ Remember, that great pains are terminated by death, that small ones, have many intermissions of repose, and that we are masters of the moderate sort : so that, if tolerable, we may bear them, if not, we can go out of life as from a theatre, where the entertainment does not please us. That which makes us in pain so impatient, is the not being accustomed to place our chief contentment in the mind, the sole and sovereign mistress of our condition. The body, saving in greater or less proportion, has but one and the same course and bias ; whereas the soul is variable into all sorts of forms ; and subjects to herself, and to our own condition, be it what it will, the sensations of the body, and all other accidents : and therefore it is, that we ought to study her, to enquire into her strength, and to rouze up her most powerful faculties. There is no reason, prescription nor force, that can prevail against her inclination and choice. Of so many thousands of biasses that she has at her disposal, let us give her one proper to our repose and preservation, and then we shall not only be sheltered from all manner of offence, but, moreover, gratified and obliged, if we like it, with evils and injuries. She makes her profit indifferently of all things. Error and dreams serve her to good use, as a lawful matter to lodge us in safety and contentment. It is plain enough to be seen, that it is the state of our mind, that gives the edge to our pains
 and

* Luc., lib. ix. v. 404.

† Cicero de finib. lib. ii. c. 29.

‡ Cicero de Finib. lib. i. c. 15.

and pleasures. Beasts, that have no such thing, leave to their bodies their own free and natural sentiments, which, consequently, are in every kind very near the same, as appears by the resembling application of their motions. If we did not disturb, in our members, the jurisdiction that appertains to them in this respect, it is to be believed it would be the better for us, and that nature has given them a just and moderate temper, both to pleasure and pain; neither can it fail of being just, as it is equal and common. But since we have enfranchised ourselves from nature's rules, to give ourselves up to the rambling liberty of our own fancies, let us at least help to bend them to the most agreeable side. Plato fears our too vehement engagement in pain and pleasure, forasmuch as it too much binds and knits the soul to the body: whereas I am of a quite contrary opinion, and think that it separates and disunites them. As an enemy is made more eager by our flight, so pain grows fiercest when we tremble under it. It will surrender upon much better terms to them who make head against it: a man must oppose, and stoutly set himself against it. In retiring and giving ground, we invite and draw upon ourselves the ruin that threatens us. As the body is more firm in an encounter, the more stiffly it sets itself to it; so is it with the soul. But let us come to examples, which are the proper commodity for fellows of such feeble reins as myself; where we shall find, that it is with pain, as with stones, which receive a more sprightly, or a duller lustre, according to the soil they are set in, and that it has no more room in us, than we are pleased to allow it. 'Tantum doluerunt, quantum doloribus se inferuerunt * . i. e. So far as they gave way to pain, so far it took advantage of them. We are more sensible of one little prick of a surgeon's lancet, than of twenty wounds with a sword in the heat of battle.

As for the pains of child-bearing, said by the physicians and by God himself, to be great, and which we make so great a clutter about, there are whole nations that make nothing of it. To say nothing of the Lacedæmonian woman, what alteration can you see in the

* Aug. de Civit. Dei.

the wives of our Swiss foot-soldiers, except that when they trot after their husbands, you see them to day with the child hanging at their backs, that they carried yesterday in their bellies and the counterfeit gypsies we have amongst us, go themselves to wash their brats so soon as they come into the world, in the first river they meet.

Besides the many whores who daily steal their children out of their womb, as before they stole them in; that fair and noble wife of Sabinus, a patrician of Rome *, for another person's sake, without help, without crying out, or so much as a groan, bore the delivery of twins.

A poor simple boy of Lacedæmon having stole a fox (for they more fear the shame of their folly in stealing, than we do the punishment of our knavery,) and having got him under his coat †, rather suffered it to tear out his bowels, than he would discover his theft. And another, offering incense at a sacrifice, suffered himself to be burnt to the bone, by a coal that fell in his sleeve, rather than disturb the ceremony. And there have been a great number, who only for a trial of their virtue, according to their institutions, have, at seven years old, endured to be whipt to death, without changing their countenance. And Cicero has seen them fight in parties, with fists, feet and teeth, till they have fainted and sunk down, rather than confess themselves overcome. Custom would never conquer nature, for she is ever invincible, but we have poisoned the mind with shadow, delights, wantonness, negligence and sloth ‡; and with vain opinions, and corrupt manners, render it effeminate and mean.

Every one knows the story of Scævola, that being slipt into the enemy's camp to kill their general, and having missed his blow, in order to repair his fault, by a more strange invention, and to deliver his country, he not only confessed his design to Porfenna, the king
he

* A very curious history is this, which you will find at large in Plutarch's treatise of love, ch. 34.

† Plutarch in the life of Lycurgus, ch. 14.
Quæst lib. v. c. 17.

‡ Cic. Tusc.

he had purposed to kill ; but moreover added, ' That
 * there were then in his camp a great number of Ro-
 * mans, his accomplices in the enterprize, as good
 * men as he,' and to shew what a one he himself was,
 having caused a pan of burning coals to be brought,
 he saw, and endured his arm to broil and roast, till
 the king himself, conceiving horror at the sight, com-
 manded the fire-pan to be taken away. What would
 you say of him, that would not vouchsafe to respite his
 reading in a book, whilst he was under an incision * ?
 and of another that persisted to mock and laugh, in
 contempt of the pains inflicted upon him † ; so that
 the enraged cruelty of his executioners, and all the
 inventions of tortures redoubled upon him, one after
 another, were spent in vain : but he was a philosopher !
 What, would you say of one of Cæsar's gladiators,
 who laughed all the while that his wounds were probed
 and laid open. ' Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit ?
 ' quis vultum mutavit unquam ? quis non modo stetit,
 ' verum etiam decubuit turpiter ? quis cum decubuis-
 ' set, ferrum recipere jussus, collum contraxit ‡ ? i. e.
 what mean fencer ever so much as gave a groan ?
 which of them ever so much as changed his counte-
 nance ? which of them, standing or falling, did either
 with shame ? which of them, when he was down, and
 commanded to receive the stroke of the sword, ever
 shrunk in his neck ? let us bring in the women too.
 Who has not heard at Paris of her that caused her
 face to be flay'd, only for the fresher complexion of a
 new skin ? There are some who have drawn good and
 sound teeth, for the sake of lisping with delicacy, or to
 set them in better order. How many examples of the
 contempt of pain have we in that sex ? what can they
 not do ? what do they fear to do, for ever so little hopes
 of an addition to their beauty ?

*Vellere quis cura est albos à stirpe capillos,
 Et faciem dempta pelle referre novam §. i. e.*

Who,

* Senec. ep. 78. † If I am not mistaken Anaxarchus is
 meant whom Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus, caused to be torn to pieces
 without being able to conquer his constancy. Diog. Laert. in the
 life of Anaxarchus, lib. ix. sect. 58, 59.

‡ Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. c. 17.
 v. 45, 46.

§ Tib. lib. i. eleg. 9.

Who, by the roots, pluck their grey hairs, and try,
With a new skin, an old face to supply.

I have seen some of them swallow sand, ashes, and do their utmost to spoil their stomachs, to get pale complexions. To get a slender waist, what racks will they not endure of girding and cramping their sides with stiff boddices *, till they have notches in their ribs, that sometimes are indented into the quick flesh, and prove mortal ? it is an ordinary thing with several nations, at this day, to hurt themselves in good earnest, to gain credit to what they declare. Of which our king relates notable examples of what he has seen in Poland, and what was done in respect to himself †. But, besides what I know to have been done of this kind by some in France, when I came from that famous assembly of the estates at Blois, I had a little before seen a maid in Picardy, who, to manifest the ardour of her promises, as also her constancy, gave herself, with a bodkin she wore in her hair, four or five stabs into the arm, till the blood gushed out to some purpose. The Turks scarify themselves much in honour of their mistresses, and to the end that the scar may the longer remain, they presently clap fire to the wound, where they hold it an incredible time to stop the blood, and form the mark ; people that have been eye-witnesses of it, have both writ and sworn this to me. Yea, for ten aspers, there are fellows to be found every day, that will give themselves a good deep slash in the arm or thighs.

* These boddices being pressed very tight to the sides by girdles, rendered the flesh there benumbed as it were, and as hard as the horny or callous part of the hands of certain labourers. The ladies who exposed themselves to this racking torture, when it was the fashion, laughed at their own folly afterwards, tho' it is not unlikely that they would be all as ready to make another sacrifice of their ease to their shape, was the fashion to be revived.

† M. de Thou, says expressly, that when this prince came away privately from Poland, the great chamberlain of the kingdom, who followed, and, with much ado overtook him on the frontiers of Austria, having in vain persuaded him to return back to Poland, quitted him at last after having promised inviolable fidelity to him, by piercing his arm with a dagger, and then sucking the blood, to the great astonishment of the king, to whom he meant, thereby, to testify his devotion. *Thou's hist. lib. lviii. at the year, 1574.*

thighs. I am willing though, to have the testimonies nearest to us, when we have most need of them, for christendom does furnish us with enough. And after the example of our blessed guide, there have been many who in devotion bear the cross. We learn, by testimony very worthy of belief, that the king St. Lewis * wore a hair-shirt, till in his old age his confessor gave him a dispensation to leave it off; and that every Friday he caused his shoulders to be drubbed by his priest, with five small chains of iron, which were always carried about amongst his night accoutrements for that purpose. William our last duke of Guienne, the father of Eleanor who transmitted this dutchy into the families of France and England, continually, for ten or twelve years before he died, wore a suit of armour under a religious habit, by way of penance. Fulk, count of Anjou, went as far as Jerusalem, there to cause himself to be whipt by two of his servants, with a rope about his neck, before the sepulchre of our Lord: nay, do we not moreover every Good Friday, in several places, see great numbers of men and women, beat and whip themselves till they lacerate and cut the flesh to the very bones; I have often seen this, and without enchantment. And they say (for they go disguised) that some for money undertook, by this means, to vouch for the religion of others, by a contempt of pain, so much the greater, as the incentives of devotion are more powerful than those of avarice. Q. Maximus buried his son †, when he was a consul, M. Cato his, when prætor elect; and L. Paulus both his, within a few days one after another, with a composed countenance which expressed no manner of grief. I said once of a certain person, by way of jest, that he had disappointed the divine justice: For the violent death of three children of his, grown up, being sent him in one day, for a severe scourge, as it is to be supposed, he almost took it for a particular grace and favour of heaven. I do not follow these monstrous humours, tho' I lost two or three at nurse, if not without regret, at least without repining, and yet there is hardly any accident that pierces men more to the quick. I see a great many other occasions of sorrow that, should they

* Vainville's Memoirs, tom. ii. 54, 55.
Quæst. lib. iii. c. 28.

† Cic. Tusc.

they happen to me, I should hardly feel; and have despised some when they have befallen me, to which the World has given so terrible a figure, that I should blush to boast of my constancy. ‘*Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, sed in opinione esse ægritudinem* * . i. e. By which it is understood, that the grievance is not in nature, but opinion. Opinion is a powerful party, bold, and without measure. Did ever any so earnestly hunt after security and repose, as Alexander and Cæsar did after disturbances and difficulties? Terez, the father of Sitalces king of Thrace †, was wont to say, that when he had ‡ no wars, he fancied there was no difference betwixt him and his groom. Cato the consul, to secure some cities of Spain from revolt, only interdicting the inhabitants of them from wearing arms, a great many killed themselves: ‘*Ferox gens, nullam vitam rati sine armis esse* ||.’ i. e. A fierce people, who thought there was no life without a war: how many do we know, who have forsaken the calms and sweetness of a quiet life at home, amongst their acquaintance, to seek out the horror of uninhabitable desarts; and having precipitated themselves into so abject a condition, as to become the scorn and contempt of the world, have hugged themselves with the conceit, even to affectation.

Cardinal Borromeo, who died lately at Milan, in the midst of all the jollity that the air of Italy, his youth, noble birth, and great riches invited him to, kept himself in so austere a way of living, that the same robe he wore in summer, served him for winter too; his bed was only straw, and his hours of vacancy from his functions, he continually spent in study, upon his knees, having a little bread and water set by his book, which was all the provision of his repast, and all the time he spent in eating.

I know some who, for profit and advancement, have consented to cuckoldom, of which the bare name only affrights so many people. If the sight be not the most necessary of all our senses, it is at least the most pleasant: but the most pleasant and most useful of all our members,

* Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii. c. 28.
xii. c. 15.

† Plutarch in the notable sayings of the ancient kings, princes, and generals.

‡ Diod. Sicul. lib.

|| Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv. c. 17.

members, seem to be those of generation, and yet a great many have conceived a mortal hatred against them, only for this, that they were too amiable; and have deprived themselves of them, only for the sake of their value. As much thought he of his eyes, who put them out. The generality, and more solid sort of men, think it a great blessing to have many children: I, and some others, think it as happy to be without them. And when Thales was asked why he did not marry, he answered, 'because he had no mind to leave any issue behind him *.' That our opinion gives the value to things, is very manifest in a great many of those which we do not so much regard to prize them, but ourselves; and never consider, either their virtues, or their use; but only how dear they cost us: as tho' that were a part of their substance: and we only repute for value in them, what they bring to us, but what we add to them. By which I understand, that we are managers of our expence. As it weighs, it serves for so much as it weighs; our opinion will never suffer it to want of its value. The price gives value to the diamond, difficulty to virtue, suffering to devotion, and griping to physick. A certain person, to be poor, threw his crowns into the same sea, to which so many came from all parts of the world to fish for riches.

Epicurus says †, that to be rich, is no relief from, but only an alteration of misery. In plain truth, it is no want, but rather abundance that creates avarice. Neither will I stick to deliver my own experience concerning this affair. I have since my childhood lived in three sorts of conditions; the first, which continued near twenty years, I past over without any other means, but what were accidental, and depending upon the allowance and assistance of others, without stint or certain revenue. I then spent my money so much the more chearfully, and with so much the less care how it went, as it wholly depended upon my over-confidence of fortune.

I never

* Diog. Laertius, in the life of Thales, lib. i. sect. 26. Thales's answer admits of two very different constructions, according to the different readings of this passage. Whether Montaigne's be right or wrong, is not my business to determine here.

† Senec. Ep. 17.

I never lived more at my ease, I never found the purse of any of my friends shut against me, having enjoined myself this necessity, above all other necessities whatever, by no means to fail of payment at the appointed time, which also they have a thousand times respited, seeing how careful I was to satisfy them; so that I practised at once a thrifty, and withal, a kind of alluring honesty. I naturally feel a kind of pleasure in paying, as if I eased my shoulders of a troublesome weight, and from that image of slavery; as besides that I felt a ravishing kind of satisfaction, by doing a just action, and pleasing another. I except those payments, where the trouble of reckoning and bargaining are required; for if I can meet with no body to ease me of that burden, I avoid them, how scandalously and injuriously soever, all I possibly can, for fear of those little wrangling disputes, with which both my humour and way of speaking, are totally incompatible. There is nothing I hate so much, as driving a bargain; it is a meer traffick of cozenage and impudence: where, after an hour's debate and haggling, both parties abandon their words and oaths, for five sols profit or abatement. And yet I borrowed at great disadvantage, for, wanting the confidence to speak to the person myself, I ventured my request on paper, which makes but a weak, if any effort, is a very unsuccessful advocate, and is of very great advantage to him who has a mind to deny. I, in those days, more jocundly and freely referred the conduct of my affairs to the stars, than I have since done to my own forecast, and sense. Most good husbands look upon it as a horrible thing to live always thus in uncertainty, and do not consider, in the first place, that the greatest part of the world live so. How many worthy men have wholly abandoned a certainty of their own, and do so daily, to court the inconstant favour of princes, and fortune? Cæsar ran, above a million of gold more than he was worth, in debt, to become Cæsar. And how many merchants begin their traffick by the sale of their farms, which they send to the Indies:

*Tot per impetentia freta * ?*

Over so many stormy seas.

VOL. I.

O

In

* Cat. Epig. 4. v. 13.

In so great a drought of devotion, as we see in these days, we have a thousand and a thousand colleges that pass it over commodiously, expecting every day their dinner from the liberality of heaven. Secondly, they do not take notice, that this certitude, upon which they so much rely, is not much less uncertain and hazardous, than hazard itself. I see misery beyond two thousand crowns a year, as near as if it stood close by me; for besides that it is in the power of chance to make a hundred breaches to poverty, through our riches, (there being very often no mean, betwixt the highest and the lowest fortune.)

Fortuna vitrea est: tum, quum splendet, frangitur *. i. e.

Fortune is glass, the brighter it doth shine,

More frail, and apt to break 'tis, when most fine.

And to turn all our fences and bulwarks topsy turvy, I find that, by divers causes, indigence is as frequently seen to inhabit with those who have estates, as with those that have none; and, peradventure, it is not quite so grievous when alone, as when accompanied with riches, which flow more from good management than income. 'Faber est suæ quisque fortunæ †,' i. e. every one is the hammerer of his own fortune; and an uneasy, necessitous, busy, rich man, seems to me more miserable, than he that is simply poor. 'In divitiis inopes, quod genus egestatis gravissimum est ‡,' i. e. Poor in the midst of riches, which is the worst kind of poverty. The greatest and most wealthy princes are, by poverty and scarcity, driven commonly to extreme necessity: for can there be any more extreme, than to become tyrants, and unjust usurpers of their subjects estates? my second condition of life was, to have money of my own; wherein I so ordered the matter, that I had soon laid up a very notable sum according to my fortune; not considering with myself, that that was to be reputed having, which a man reserved from his ordinary expence, nor that a man could rely upon the hopes of a revenue to receive, how clear soever his estate might be. 'For what, said I, if I should
' be

* Publius Syrius, upon fortune ex Munis.

† Sallust in his first oration to Cæsar de ordinanda republicâ, sect. 1.

‡ Seneca, ep. 74, at the beginning, where you will see that Montaigne has transposed Seneca's words to apply them to his subject.

‘ be surpris’d by such or such an accident ; and, after
‘ the like vain and vicious imaginations, would very
‘ learnedly, by this hoarding of money, provide against
‘ all inconvenience ; and could moreover answer, such
‘ as objected to me, that the number of them was too
‘ infinite, that tho’ I could not lay up for all, I could
‘ however do it at least for some, and for many.’ Yet
was not this done without great solicitude and anxiety.
I kept it very close, and as I dare speak boldly of myself,
never talked of my money, but falsely, as others do,
who, being rich, pretend to be poor, and being poor,
pretend to be rich, dispensing with their consciences for
ever telling sincerely what they have. A ridiculous and
shameful prudence ! was I to go a journey ? methought
I never was enough provided : and the more I loaded
myself with money, the more also was I loaded with
fear, one while of the danger of the roads, another of
the fidelity of him who had the charge of my sumpters,
of whom, as some others that I know, I was never suf-
ficiently secure, if I had him not always in my eye. If
I chanced to leave the key of my cabinet behind me,
what strange jealousies, and uneasy thoughts was I pos-
sessed with ? and, which was worse, without daring
to acquaint any body with the cause. My mind was
eternally taken up in this manner, so that all things con-
sidered, there is more trouble in keeping money, than in
getting it. And if I did not altogether as much I say,
yet it cost me something to restrain myself from doing it.
I reaped little or no advantage from what I had, and my
expences seem nothing less to me, for having the more
to spend : For, as Bion * said, ‘ The hairy men are as
‘ angry as the bald to be pulled ;’ and after you are once
accustomed to it, and set your heart upon your heap, it
is no more at your service, you dare not diminish it : it
is a building that you fancy must of necessity tumble
down, if you do but touch it. Necessity must first take
you by the throat, before you can prevail upon yourself
to lay a finger on it : and I would sooner have pawned
any thing I had, or sold a house, and with much less
reluctance or constraint upon myself, than have made
the least breach in that beloved purse, I had so carefully

O 2

laid

* Seneca in his treatise of the tranquillity of the mind, ch. 8.

laid by. But the danger was, that a man cannot easily prescribe certain limits to this desire (for they are hard to find in things that a man conceives to be good) nor stint this good husbandry so, that it may not degenerate into avarice: men being still intent upon adding to the heap, and encreasing the stock, from sum to sum, till at last they vilely deprive themselves of the enjoyment of their own proper goods, and throw all into reserve, without making any use of them at all. According to this rule, they are the richest people in the world, who are set to guard the gates and walls of a wealthy city. All money'd men I conclude to be covetous. Plato places corporal or human benefit in this order; health, beauty, strength and wealth, the last of which, says he, 'is not blind, but very clear-sighted, when illuminated by prudence.' Dionysius the son *, acted with a good grace. He was informed, that one of his Syracusians had buried some treasure, and theteupon sent to the man to bring it to him, which he accordingly did, privately reserving a small part of it, only, to himself, with which he went to another city, where having lost his appetite of hoarding, he began to live at a more liberal rate. Which Dionysius hearing, caused the rest of his treasure to be restored to him, saying, 'that since he had learnt how to use it, he very willingly returned it back to him.'

I continued some years in this hoarding humour, when I know not what good Dæmon fortunately put me out of it, as he did the Syracusian, and made me scatter abroad all that I had saved; the pleasure of a certain voyage I took, of very great expence, having made me spurn this love of money under foot, by which means I am now fallen into a third way of living (I speak what I think of it) doubtless much more pleasant and moderate, which is, that I spend to the height of my income; sometimes the one, sometimes the other may perhaps exceed, but it is very little, that they differ at all; I live from hand to mouth, and content myself in having sufficient for my present and ordinary expence; for as to extraordinary occasions, all the laying up in the world would

* Or Dionysius the father according to Plutarch, in the notable sayings of kings, princes, and generals.

would never suffice ; and it is the greatest folly to expect that fortune should ever sufficiently arm us against herself. It is with our own weapons that we are to fight her, accidental ones will betray us when it comes to the pinch. If I lay up, it is not to buy lands, of which I have no need, but to purchase pleasure. ‘ Non esse cupidum, pecunia est : non esse emacem, vectigal est *.’ i. e. Not to be covetous, is wealth ; not to be a purchaser, is a tribute. I am in no fear of wanting, nor desire of augmenting ; ‘ divitiarum fructus est in copia ; copiam declarat satietas †.’ i. e. The fruits of riches lie in abundance, and satiety declares abundance. And I am particularly pleased with myself, that this reformation in me, has fallen out at an age naturally inclined to avarice, and that I see myself cured of a folly so common to old men, and of all human follies the most ridiculous.

Feraulez a man that had run through fortunes, and found that the increase of substance was no increase of appetite, either to eating, or drinking, sleeping, or the enjoyment of his wife ; and who on the other side, felt the care of his œconomy lie heavy upon his shoulders, as it does on mine ; was resolved to gratify ‡ a poor young man his faithful friend, who clamoured for riches, by making him a gift of all his wealth, which was excessively great (and which he was in the way of accumulating daily by the liberality of Cyrus, his good master, and by the war) conditionally that he should take care, to maintain him handsomely as his guest, and friend ; and, they afterwards lived very happily together, equally content with the change of their condition.

This is an example that I could imitate with all my heart. And I very much approve the fortune of an ancient prelate, whom I see to have so absolutely stript himself of his purse, his revenue, and care of his expence ; committing them, one while to one trusty servant, and another while to another, that he has spun out a long tract of years, as ignorant, by this means, of his domestick affairs as a stranger. A confidence in another man’s virtue, is no light evidence of a man’s own ;

O 3

therefore

* Cicero. Perad. vi. c. 3.

† Ibid. c. 2.

‡ See

Xenophon’s Cyropædia, lib. viii. c. 3. sect. 16—20.

therefore God is pleased to favour such a confidence. As for him of whom I am speaking, I see no where a better governed family, nor that is more decently, and constantly maintained than his; happy in having stated his affairs to so just a proportion, that his estate is sufficient to do it without his care or trouble, and without any hindrance, either in the spending or laying it up, to his other more agreeable, and quiet employments.

Plenty then and poverty depend upon the opinion every one has of them; and riches no more than glory or health, have more of either beauty or pleasure, than he is pleased to lend them, by whom they are possessed. Every one is well or ill at ease, according as he finds himself: not he whom the world believes, but he who believes himself to be so, is content; and in this alone, belief gives itself being and reality. Fortune does neither good nor hurt; she only presents us the matter, and the seed; which our soul, more powerfully than she, turns and applies as she best pleases; being the sole cause, and mistress of her own happy, or unhappy condition. All external accessions receive taste and colour from the internal constitution, as cloaths warm us, not with their heat, but our own, which they are fit to cover and nourish; and he that would cover a cold body, would do the same service for the cold, for thus snow and ice are preserved*. And after the same manner as study is a torment to a truant, abstinence from wine to a good fellow, frugality to the spendthrift, and exercise to a lazy, tender-bred fellow; so it is of all the rest. Things are not so painful and difficult of themselves, but our weakness or cowardice makes them so. To judge of great and high matters, requires a suitable soul, otherwise we attribute the vice to them, which is really our own. A strait oar seems crooked in the water: it is not only of importance that we see the thing, but in what manner we see it.

Well then, why amongst so many discourses, that by so many arguments persuade men to despise death, and to endure pain, can we not find out one that makes for us?

* It appears that Montaigne has taken all that follows, to the end of this paragraph, from a beautiful passage in Seneca's epistle 81.

us? and of so many sorts of imaginations as have so prevailed upon others, as to persuade them to do so, why does not every one apply some one to himself, the most suitable to his own humour? if he cannot away with a strong working apozem to eradicate the evil, let him at least take a lenitive to ease it. ' *Opinio est quædam effeminata, ac levis: nec in dolore magis, quam eadem in voluptate: qua quum liquefcimus fluiimusque molliâ, apud aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus.*—Totum in eo est, ut tibi imperes *.' i. e. There is a certain frivolous and effeminate opinion, and that not more in pain, than it is even in pleasure itself; by which, whilst we roll and melt in ease, and wantonness, we cannot endure so much as the sting of a bee, without roaring. The whole secret lies in this, to command thyself. As to the rest, a man does not transgress philosophy, by crying out against the acrimony of pains, and human frailty so much beyond measure; for they must at last be reduced to these invincible replies. If it be ill to live in necessity, at least there is no necessity upon a man to live in necessity. No man continues ill long, but by his own fault. He who has neither the courage to die, nor the heart to live; who will neither resist nor fly, what should be done to him?

C H A P. XLI. *One Man's Honour, not to be communicated to another.*

OF all the follies of the world, that which is most universally received, is the solicitude for reputation and glory, which we are fond of to that degree, as to abandon riches, peace, life, and health, which are effectual and substantial goods, to pursue this vain phantom, this meer eccho, that has neither body nor hold to be taken of it.

*La fama ch' invaghisce a un dolce suono
Gli superbi mortai, E par' si bella
E un eccho, un sogno, anzi d'un sogno un' ombra
Ch' ad ogni vento si dilegua, E sgombra †. i. e.*

O 4

Glory,

* Cicero Tusc. lib. ii. c. 22.
Gierusalemme liberata.

† Tasso canto, 14. stanza 63.

Glory, whose sweet and captivating sound
 Proud mortals charms, and does appear so fair,
 An echo, dream, shade of a dream is found,
 Dispers'd and damp'd by ev'ry breath of air.

And of all the unreasonable humours of men, it seems that this continues longer, with even the philosophers themselves, than any other, and that they have the most ado *, to disengage themselves from this, as the most resty and obstinate of all human follies. 'Quia etiam bene proficientes animos tentare non cessat †:' i. e. Because it continually tempts even the virtuous minds. There is not any one folly, of which reason does so clearly blame the vanity, as that; but it is so deeply rooted in us, that I dare not determine, whether any one ever totally sequestered himself from it. After you have said and done all you can to disclaim it, it creates so intestine an inclination in opposition to your arguments, that you are hardly able to resist it: for ‡ (as Cicero says) even those who oppose it, chuse that the books they write should bear their own names in the front, and seek to derive glory from seeming to despise it. All other things are communicable, in commerce; we lend our goods, and stake our lives for the necessity of our friends; but to communicate a man's honour, and to rob another with a man's own glory, is very rarely seen. And yet we have some examples of that kind.

Catulus Lucatius in the Cimbrian war, having done all that in him lay to stop his soldiers, flying from the enemy, ran himself, at last, away with the rest §, and counterfeited the coward, to the end his men might rather seem to follow their captain, than to fly from the enemy;

* 'Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur,' i. e. The desire of glory is the last passion of which even wise men can divest themselves, Tacit. lib. iv. I question whether Montaigne had this passage in view, for it is so beautiful that if he had thought of it, I fancy he could not have omitted to quote it.

† Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. v. c. 14.

‡ 'Ipsi illi philosophi, etiam illis libellis quos de contemnenda gloriâ scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt; in eo ipso in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se ac nominari volunt.' Orat. pro Archiâ Poetâ cap. 11. Edit. Gronov.

§ Plutarch in the life of Caius Marius, ch. 8.

enemy ; which was to abandon his own reputation, to hide the shame of others. When Charles the fifth came into Provence in the year 1537, it is said, that Antonio de Leva seeing the emperor positively resolved upon this expedition, and believing it would redound very much to his honour, did nevertheless oppose and dissuade him from it, to the end that the entire glory of that resolution should be attributed to his master ; and that it might be said, his own opinion and foresight had been such, as that, contrary to the sentiments of all, he had brought about so noble an enterprize ; which was really doing him honour at his own expence.

The Thracian ambassadors, coming to comfort Archileonida, the mother of Brasidas, upon the death of her son, and commending him to that height, as to say he had not left his like behind him ; she rejected this private and particular commendation to attribute it to the publick : ‘ Tell me not that *, (said she) I know the city of Sparta has several citizens greater, and more valiant than he was.’

In the battle of Cressy †, the prince of Wales, being then very young, had the vanguard committed to him, where the main stress of the battle happened to be, which made the lords that were with him, finding themselves overmatched, to send to king Edward ‡, that he would please to advance to their relief ; who thereupon enquiring of the condition his son was in, and being answered, that he was yet living, and on horse-back : ‘ I should then do him wrong (said the king) now to go, and deprive him of the honour of winning this battle which he has so long disputed ; what hazard soever he runs, the victory shall be entirely his own.’ And accordingly would neither go nor send, knowing that if he went, it would be said all had been lost without his succour, and that the honour of the victory would be attributed to his majesty. ‘ Semper enim quod postremum adjectum est, id rem totam videtur traxisse.’ i. e. For the last stroke to a business seems always to draw along with it the merit of the whole action. Many at Rome thought, and would usually say, that the noblest

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of

* Plutarch in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians, at the article Brasidas. † In. 13:6. ‡ Froissart, vol. 1. ch. 30.

of Scipio's actions were, in part, due to Lelius, whose constant practice it was, nevertheless, to advance and support Scipio's grandeur and renown, without any care of his own. And Theopompus, king of Sparta, when a person told him the republick stood it out, because he knew so well how to command. 'It is rather' (answered he) 'because the people know so well how to obey *.'

As women succeeding to peerages, had, notwithstanding their sex, the privilege to assist and give in their votes, in causes appertaining to the jurisdiction of peers: So the ecclesiastical peers, notwithstanding their profession, were obliged to assist our kings in their wars, not only with their friends and servants, but in their own persons; as the bishop of Beauvais did, who being with Philip Augustus, at the battle of Bouvines †, had a notable share in that action; but he did not think it fit for him to participate in the fruit and glory of that violent and bloody exercise. He, with his own hand, reduced several of the enemy that day to his mercy, whom he delivered to the first gentleman he met, either to kill, or receive them to quarter, referring the whole execution to his hand. Thus also did William earl of Salisbury, to M. Jean de Nefle. With a like subtlety of conscience to the other we named before, he would kill, but not wound him, and for that reason never fought but with a club ‡. And a certain person of my time, being reproached

* Plutarch, in the article Theopompus.

† Between Lille and Tournay, in 1214.

‡ That is to say, 'By a salvo of conscience, like to that other which I just now mentioned, this bishop chose to knock on the head, &c.' In fact, this other salvo, which Montaigne has just attributed to the bishop of Beauvais, was not more frivolous than this, by which this same bishop made no scruple to knock those on the head, whom he did not chuse to wound or kill with a sword. For the bishop of Beauvais is intended in the latter case, as well as in the former: 'At the battle of Bouvines, Mezeray expressly says, Philip bishop of Beauvais, brother to that king, did not strike with a sword, but with a club; thinking that knocking a man on the head, was not spilling his blood.'—Mr. Cotton, the last translator of these essays into English, has confounded this passage entirely; for his not comprehending that this latter salvo of conscience had relation to the bishop of Beauvais, in the same manner as the former, instead of delivering up William earl of Salisbury to M. John de Nefle

proached by the king, that he had laid hands on a priest, stiffly and positively denied it, for he had only cudgelled and kicked him.

C H A P.

Nesle, he tells us, 'That William earl of Salisbury made use of a salvo of conscience, with regard to M. John de Nesle, like to the other whom we named above : He would (continues Mr. Cotton) kill, but not wound him; and for that reason never fought with a mace.' By the manner in which this translator speaks here of the earl of Salisbury, one would be apt to say, that he only engaged in this battle to kill John de Nesle. These are Mr. Cotton's own words. 'As also did William earl of Salisbury to Messire Jean de Nesle, with a like subtilty of conscience to the other we named before; he would kill but not wound him, and for that reason never fought with a mace.' — The confusion which I discover this ingenious translator to be in at this passage, makes me a little dissident of myself. But though in all the editions of Montaigne, which I have seen, it is said, 'With a salvo of conscience like to this other,' I think I may venture to affirm, that Montaigne's expression, 'of a salvo of conscience like to this other,' means to this other salvo of the bishop of Beauvais; and that he would have us to understand here, that by a cunning salvo, like to that which he had just mentioned, the same bishop of Beauvais was desirous to knock on the head, but not to wound; having, for that very reason, fought only with a club. — As for William earl of Salisbury, it does not appear that he had the same scruple at the battle of Bouvines, as the bishop of Beauvais. It is certain at least, that this bishop took the earl of Salisbury, and delivered him prisoner to John de Nesle. This is what Montaigne says very clearly, before he mentioned this other cunning salvo of conscience, which engaged the bishop of Beauvais to fight only with a club. And all that Montaigne has here advanced, is very positively asserted in history. 'William of Brittany, says John de Tillet, in his history of king Philip Augustus, makes mention of the bishop of Beauvais, a prince of the blood, brother to the count de Dreux, a peer of France; who being at the battle of Pont de Bouvines, with the said Philip Augustus, did, with one stroke of a club, knock down count William, surnamed Longspear, the bastard brother of the king of England, and commanded M. John de Nesle, kt. to make him his prisoner. The like did he with regard to many others, whom he laid sprawling on the ground: forasmuch as he was an ecclesiastick, the praise of his feats of arms is given as it were to others, and he only chose to fight with a club, that he might demolish without killing.' Tillet's memoirs, p. 220, printed at Troyes, 1578.

C H A P. XLII. *Of the inequality amongst us.*

PLUTARCH says somewhere *, that he does not find so great a difference betwixt beast and beast, as he does betwixt man and man. Which is said in reference to the internal qualities and perfections of the soul. And, in truth, I find (according to my poor judgment) so vast a distance betwixt Epaminondas, and some that I know (who are yet men of common sense), that I could willingly enhance upon Plutarch, and say, that there is more difference between such and such a man, than there is between such a man and such a beast :

Hem vir viro quid præstat † ! i. e.

————— How much alas,

One man another doth surpass !

And that there are as many and innumerable degrees of wits, as there are cubits betwixt this and heaven. But, as touching the estimate of men, it is strange that, ourselves excepted, no other creature is esteemed beyond its proper qualities. We commend a horse for his strength and sureness of foot,

————— *Volucrè*

Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma

Fervet, & exultat rauco victoria circo. ‡. i. e.

So we commend the horse for being fleet,
Which many prizes by his speed does get,
And which the trumpets in the circus grace,
With their hoarse levets for his well run race.

and not for his rich caparisons ; a greyhound for his share of heels, not for his fine collar ; a hawk for her wing, not for her jesses and bells. Why, in like manner, do we not value a man for what is properly his own ? he has a great train, a beautiful palace, so much credit, such a revenue ; all these are about him, but not in him. You will not buy a pig in a poke : if you cheapen a horse, you have him stripped of his housings-cloaths, that he may appear naked and open to your eye ; or if he be cloathed, as they anciently were wont

to.

* At the end of his treatise of brutes having the use of reason.

† Ter. Eunuch. act. ii. sect. iii. ver. 1.

‡ Juvenal. sat. viii. ver. 57.

to present to princes to sell, it is only on the less important parts, that you may not so much consider the beauty of his colour, or the breadth of his crupper, as principally to examine his legs, eyes, and feet, which are the members of greatest use :

*Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, apertos
Suspiciunt, ne si facies, ut sæpe, decora
Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,
Quod pulchræ clunet, breve quod caput, ardua
cervix †. i. e.*

When skilful jockeys would a courser buy,
They strip him naked, head, back, breast, and
thigh ;

For oft an eager chapman is betray'd,
To buy a founderd, or a spaven'd jade :
While he admires a thin, light shoulder'd chest,
A little head, broad back, and rising crest.

† Why, in giving your estimate of a man, do you prize him wrapped and muffled up in cloaths ? He then discovers nothing to you, but such parts as are not in the least his own ; and conceals those, by which alone one may rightly judge of his value. It is the price of the blade that you enquire into, and not of the scabbard : You would not, peradventure, bid a farthing for him, if you saw him stripped. You are to judge of him by himself, and not by what he wears. And as one of the ancients very pleasantly said, Do you know why you répute him tall ? You reckon withal the height of his pattins §, whereas the pedestal is no part of the statue. Measure him without his stilts, let him lay aside his revenues, and his titles, let him present himself in his shirt, then examine if his body be sound and spritely, active, and disposed to perform its function ? what mind has he ? Is it beautiful, capable, and happily provided of all its faculties ? is it rich in what is its own, or in what it has borrowed ? has fortune no hand in the affair ? can it without winking, face the lightning of swords ; is it in-
different,

† Hor. lib. i. sect. 2. ver. 86, &c.

‡ 'Equum empturus solvi jubes stratum, &c. — Hominem involutum æstimas ?' Seneca, epist. 80.

§ 'Quare magnus videntur ? Cum basi illum sua metiri.' Seneca, ep. 76.

MONTAIGNE'S *Essays*.

different, whether life expire by the mouth or the throat ? it is settled, even, and content * ? that is what is to be examined, and by that you are to judge of the vast difference betwixt man and man. Is he

————— *Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus*

*Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores*

Fortis, & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,

Externi ne quid valeat per læve morari,

In quem manca ruit semper fortuna † ? i. e.

The man is truly wise that can controul,

And govern all the passions of his soul ;

Whom poverty, nor chains, nor death affright,

Who's proof against the charms of vain delight ;

Who can ambition's noblest gifts despise,

Firm in himself, who on himself relies :

Polish'd, and round, who runs his proper course,

And breaks misfortune with superior force.

such a man is raised five hundred fathoms above kingdoms and dutchies, he is an absolute monarch in and to himself.

Sapiens pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi ‡. i. e.

The wise man his own fortune makes.

What remains for him to covet or desire ?

————— *Nonne videmus*

Nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut quoi

Corpore sejunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur

Fucundo sensu, cura semotus metuque §. i. e.

We see that nature only seeks for ease,

A body free from pains, free from disease,

A mind from cares and jealousies at peace. }

Compare with such a one, the common rabble of mankind, stupid and mean-spirited, servile, instable, and continually floating with the tempest of various passions, that tosses and tumbles them to and fro, and all depending upon others, and you will find a greater distance betwixt them, than betwixt heaven and earth; and yet so blind are we, that we make little or no account of it. Whereas, if we consider a peasant and a king, a nobleman and a vassal, a magistrate and a private man, a rich

man.

* Seneca. † Horace, lib. ii. sat. 7. ver. 83, &c. ‡ Plaut.
Tri. act. 2. sect. 2. ver. 84. § Lucræ. lib. ii. ver. 16, &c.

man and a poor one, there appears a vast disparity, though they differ no more (as a man may say) than in their breeches.

In Thrace, the king was distinguished from his people after a very pleasant and coy manner: he had a religion by himself, a god too, all his own, and which his subjects were not to adore, viz. Mercury; whilst, on the other hand, he disdained to have any thing to do with theirs, Mars, Bacchus, and Diana *. And yet they are no other than pictures, that make no essential difference; for as you see actors in a play, representing the person of a duke or an emperor, upon the stage, and immediately after, in the tiring-room, return to their true and original condition, of footmen and porters; so the emperor, whose pomp does so dazzle you in publick,

*Scilicet, & grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi
Auro includuntur, teriturque Thalassina vestis
Assidue, & Veneris sudorem exercita potat* †. i. e.

Rings, with great emeralds, are in gold enchast,
To dart green lustre; and the sea-green vest
Continually is worn and rubb'd to frets,

Whilst it imbibes the juice that Venus sweats.

do but peep behind the curtain, and you'll see nothing more than an ordinary man, and, peradventure, more contemptible than the meanest of his subjects. ' Ille
' beatus introrsum est, istius bracteata felicitas est ‡. i. e.
True happiness lies within his breast; the other is but a counterfeit felicity. Cowardice, irresolution, ambition, spite and envy, are as predominant in him, as in another.

*Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor, miseros tumultus
Mentis, & curas laqueata circum*

Tecta volantes §. i. e.

For neither wealth nor pow'r controul,
The wretched tumults of the soul;

Or

* Herodotus, indeed, says, (lib. v. p. 331.) that the Thracian kings worshipped Mercury above all other gods, that they only swore by him alone, and pretended to be descended from him; but he does not say that they despised Mars, Bacchus, and Diana, the only deities of their subjects. † Lucret. lib. iv. ver. 1119, &c. ‡ Seneca, ep. 115. § Horace, lib. ii. Ode. 16. ver. 11, &c.

Or make those cares to stand aloof,
Which hover round the vaulted roof.

Care and fear attack him, even in the center of his battalions.

*Re veràque metus hominum, curæque sequaces,
Nec metuunt sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,
Audacterque inter reges, rerumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro* *. i. e.

For fears and cares, warring with human hearts,
Fear not the clash of arms, nor points of darts ;
But with great kings and potentates make bold,
Maugre their purple, and their glittering gold.

Do fevers, gouts, and the head-ach, spare them any more than one of us ? when old age hangs heavy upon a prince's shoulders, can the yeomen of his guard ease him of the burthen ? when he is astonish'd with the apprehension of death, can the gentlemen of his bed chamber secure him ? when jealousy, or any other capricio swims in his brain, can our fine compliments restore him to his good humour ? the canopy embroidered with pearl and gold, which he lies under, has no virtue to ease fits of the cholick.

*Nec calidæ citius decedunt corpore febres
Textilibus si in picturis, ostroque rubenti
Fasteris, quàm si plebeia in veste cubandum est* †. i. e.

Nor sooner will a calenture depart,
Although in figur'd tiffues lodg'd thou art,
Than if thy homely couch were meanly spread
With poorest blankets of the coarsest thread.

The flatterers of Alexander the great, possess'd him, that he was the son of Jupiter : but being one day wounded, and observing the blood stream from his wound ; ‘ what say you now †’, said he, ‘ is not this blood of a crimson colour, and purely human ? this is not of the complexion with that which Homer makes to issue from the wounded Gods’. The poet § Hermedorus had wrote a poem in honour of Antigonus, wherein he call'd him the son of the sun : ‘ but whoever empties my close-stool, (said Antigonus) knows the contrary’. He is but a man

at

* Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 47, &c. † Idem. ver. 34, &c.

‡ Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the ancient kings, &c. in the article of Alexander. § Id. ibid. in the article of Antigonus.

at best; and if he be ill qualified from his birth, the empire of the universe cannot set him to rights.

————— *Puellæ*
Hunc raptant, quidquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiat *. i. e.

Though maids should ravish him, and where he goes,

In every step he takes, should spring a rose.

What of all that, if he be a fool and a sot? even pleasure and good fortune, are not relished without vigour and understanding.

*Hæc perinde sunt, ut illius animus, qui ea possidet,
 Qui uti scit, ei bona, illi, qui non utitur recte, mala* †. i. e.

Things to the owners minds, their merit square,

Good if well us'd, if ill, they evils are.

Whatever the benefits of fortune are, they yet require a palate fit to relish them: it is fruition, and not meer possession, that renders us happy.

Non domus, & fundus, non æris aceruus & auri,

Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,

Non animo curas; valeat possessor oportet,

Qui comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti,

Qui cupit, aut metuit, juvat illum sic domus aut res,

Ut lippum pictæ Tabulæ, fomenta podagram ‡. i. e.

Nor house, nor lands, nor heaps of labour'd ore

Can give the fev'rish lord one moment's rest,

Or drive one sorrow from his anxious breast;

The rich possessor must be blest'd with health,

To reap the comforts of his hoarded wealth.

He that desires or fears, diseas'd in mind,

Wealth profits him, as pictures do the blind,

Or plaisters gouty feet, &c.

He is a sot, his taste is palled and flat; he no more enjoys what he has, than one that has a cold relishes the flavour of canary; or than a horse is sensible of his rich accoutrements. Plato, therefore, is in the right, when he tells us, that health, beauty, & strength, riches, and all things called good, are equally evil to the unjust, as good to the just, and the evil on the contrary the same.

Now

* Persius, sat. 2. ver. 38, 39.

† Ter. Heaut. act. 1. sc. 2.

ver. 21, 22,

‡ Horace, lib. i. ep. 2.

§ De Legibus, lib. ii.

p. 579, where this subject is handled at large, and after a divine manner.

Now then, where either the body or the mind are in disorder, what signify these external conveniences? considering, that the least prick with a pin, or the least passion of the soul, is sufficient to deprive us of the pleasure of being monarchs of the world. At the first twitch of the gout, it is to much purpose to be called sir, and your majesty;

Totus, & argento confatus, totus & auro *. i. e.

And to abound with silver and gold.

Does he not forget his palaces and grandeur? if he be angry, can his being a prince keep him from looking red, and turning pale, and grinding his teeth like a madman? now if he be a man of parts, and well descended, royalty adds very little to his happiness:

*Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus* †. i. e.

If thou art right and sound from head to foot,

A king's revenue can add nothing to't.

He discerns it is nothing but false and counterfeit. Nay, perhaps, he would be of king † Seleucus's opinion, that he who knew the weight of a scepter, would not stoop to take it up from the ground; which he said in reference to the great and painful duty incumbent upon a good king. Doubtless it can be no easy task to rule others, when we find it so hard a matter to govern ourselves. And as to the thing dominion, that seems so charming, considering the frailty of human wisdom, and the difficulty of choice in things that are new and doubtful, I am very much of opinion, that it is much more easy and pleasant to follow than to lead; and that it is a great settlement to the mind, to have only one beaten path to walk in, and to have none to answer for, but for a man's self;

*Ut satius multo jam sit, parere quietum,
Quam regere imperio res velle* § i. e.

So that 'tis better calmly to obey,

Than in the storms of state a scepter sway.

To which we may add that Saying of Cyrus, that no
man

* Hor. lib. i. ep. 1. ver. 71.

† Hor. lib. i. ep. 12. ver. 5, 6.

‡ Plutarch, in his tract, whether an old man ought to concern himself with publick affairs, ch. 12.

§ I. ucret. lib. v. 1126.

man was fit to rule, but he who in his own worth was superior to all those he was to govern.

But king Hiero, in * Xenophon, says further, that in the fruition, even of pleasure itself, they are in a worse condition than private men; forasmuch as the opportunities and facility they have of obtaining it, takes off from the flavour of it that we have.

*Pinguis amor, nimiumque potens, in tædia nobis
Vertitur, & stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet* †. i. e.

Too potent love, in loathing ever ends,
As richest sauce the stomach most offends.

Can we think that the singing boys of the choir take any great pleasure in their own musick? the satiety does rather render it surfeiting to them. Feasts, balls, masquerades, and tiltings, delight such as but rarely see, and desire to be at such solemnities: but after having been frequent at such entertainments, the relish of them grows flat and harsh. Nay, the ladies do not so much charm those who often enjoy them. He who will not give himself leisure to be thirsty, can never find the true pleasure of drinking. Stage plays, and tumbling tricks, are pleasant to the spectators, but a drudgery to those by whom they are performed. And that this is actually so, we see that princes divert themselves sometimes, in disguising their qualities awhile, to depose themselves, and to stoop to the forms of low and vulgar life.

*Plerumque gratæ Principibus vires,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cœnæ sine aulæis, & ostro,
Sollicitum explicuere frontem* ‡. i. e.

Changes have often pleas'd the great;
And in a cell a homely treat

Of healthy food, and cleanly dress'd;
Tho' no rich hangings grace the rooms,
Or purple wrought in Tyrian looms,

Have smooth'd a wrinkled brow, and calm'd a
ruffled breast.

Nothing is so distasteful and clogging, as abundance.
What man's appetite would not be palled, to see three
hundred

* In Xenophon's tract, intitl'd, Hieron, or the condition of kings.

† Ov. Amor. lib. ii. eleg. 19.

‡ Hor. lib. iii. Ode 29. ver.

hundred women at his mercy, as the grand seignior has in his seraglio? and what appetite and view of pleasure, did he reserve to himself, who never went a hawking with less than seven thousand falconers?

And, besides all this, I think that this lustre of grandeur brings with it no little prejudice to the enjoyment of the most tempting pleasures: great men are too conspicuous, and lie too open to every one's remark. They are more required than others, to conceal their errors, since what is only reputed indiscretion in us, the people brand in them with the names of tyranny, and contempt of the laws; and, besides their proclivity to vice, are apt to censure, that it seems to be an additional pleasure to them, to insult over, and trample upon, the publick ordinances. Plato, indeed, in his *Gorgias*, defines a tyrant to be one, who, in a city, has license to do whatever he will. And for this reason, the demonstration and publication of their vice, does oftentimes more mischief than the vice itself. Every one fears to be pry'd into, or controuled; but princes are, even to their very looks and thoughts; the people conceiving that they have a right, and an interest to be judges of them: besides, that spots appear greater, by reason of the eminency and lustre of the place where they are seated; and that a speck, or a wart, appears greater in them, than a gash does in others. And this is the reason why the poets feign the amours of Jupiter to be carried on in borrowed shapes; and amongst the many amorous intrigues they lay to his charge, there is only one, as I remember, where he appears in his own majesty and grandeur.

But let us return to Hieron, who complains of the inconveniencies he found in his royalty *, in that he could not go abroad, and travel at liberty, being as it were a prisoner within the bounds of his own dominion: and that, in all his actions, he was surrounded with a troublesome crowd. And, in truth, to see our kings sit all alone at table, environed with so many people talking, and so many strangers staring upon them, I have often been moved, rather to pity, than to envy them. King Alphonsus was wont to say, that in this respect, asses were in a better condition than kings, their masters permitting them

* In Xenophon's tract, intituled, *Hieron*, sect. 2.

them to feed at their ease : a grant which kings cannot obtain of their servants. And it would never sink into my fancy, that it could be of any benefit to the life of a man of sense, to have twenty people prating about him when he is at stool ; or that the services of a man of ten thousand livres a year, or that has taken Casal, or defended Siena, should be more commodious, and acceptable to him, than those of a good experienced valet.

The advantages of sovereignty are but imaginary, in a manner : every degree of fortune, has in it some shadow of sovereignty. Cæsar calls all the lords of France, having free franchise within their own demesnes, Roy-telets, or Petty Kings ; and, in truth, the name of sire excepted, they go a great length with our monarchs : for, do but look into the provinces remote from court, as Brittany for example, and take notice of the attendants, the vassals, the officers, the employments, service, and ceremony of a nobleman, that lives retired from court, at his own house in the country, and that has been bred up amongst his own tenants and servants ; and observe withal, the flight of his imagination ; there is nothing more royal : he hears talk of his sovereign once a year, as of a king of Persia, without taking any further notice of him, than as some remote kindred in his secretary's register. And, in truth, our laws are easy enough ; so easy, that a gentleman of France scarce feels the weight of sovereignty, above twice in his life. Real and effectual subjection, only concerns such amongst us, as voluntarily accommodate themselves to it, and who, by such services, aim at wealth and honour : for a man that loves his own fire-side, and can govern his house, without engaging in quarrels, or suits of law, is as free as a duke of Venice. * *Paucos servitus, plures servitutem tenent* *. i. e. Servitude seizes few, but many seize her. But that which Hieron is most concerned at, is, that he finds himself stripped of all friendship, and mutual society, wherein the best, and most perfect enjoyment of human life does consist. For what testimony of affection and good will can I draw from him that owes me, whether he will or no, all that he is able to do ? can I place any dependance on his real respect to me, from his humble way
of

* Seneca, Ep. 22.

of speaking, and submissive behaviour, when he is not at liberty to refuse it to me? the honour we receive from those that fear us, is not honour; those respects are paid to my royalty, and not to me.

Maximum hoc Regni bonum est,

Quod facta domini cogitur populus sui

Quam ferre, tam laudare *. i. e.

'Tis the great benefit of kings, that they,
Who are by law subjected to their sway,
Are bound, in all their princes say or do,
Not only to submit, but praise it too.

Do I not see, that the wicked, and the good king, he that is hated, and he that is beloved, has the one as much reverence paid him, as the other? my predecessor was, and my successor shall be served with the same state. If my subjects do me no harm, it is no evidence of any good affection; why should I look upon it as such, seeing it is not in their power to do it, if they would? no one follows me, upon the account of any friendship betwixt him and me; for there can be no contracting of friendship, where there is so little relation and correspondence: my own high station has put me out of a familiarity with men: there is too great disparity and disproportion between us; they follow me either upon the account of decency, and custom; or rather my fortune than me, to increase their own: all they say to me, or do for me, is but dissembled, their liberty being, on all sides, restrained by the great power I have over them. I see nothing about me but what is under covert and a mask. The emperor Julian being one day applauded by his courtiers, for his exact justice †: 'I should be proud of these praises, said he, did they come from persons that durst condemn, or disapprove the contrary, in case I should do it'. All the real advantages of princes are common to them with men of the middle rank. It is for the gods to mount winged horses, and feed upon Ambrosia: kings have no other sleep, nor other appetite, than we; their steel is of no better temper, than that we arm ourselves with, their crowns neither defend them from the rain, nor sun.

Dioclesian

* Seneca Thiest act. 2. sc. 1. v. 30, &c.

† Ammianus Marcel. lib. xxvii. c. 10.

Dioclesian who wore a crown so fortunate and revered, resigned it, to retire himself to the felicity of a private life : And some time after, the necessity of publick affairs requiring that he should re-assume his charge, he made answer to those who came to court him to it, ‘ you would not offer (said he) to persuade me to this, had you seen the fine row of trees I have planted in my orchard, and the delicate melons I have sowed in my garden.

In Anacharsis his opinion, the happiest estate of government would be, where all other things being equal, precedency should be dealt to * the virtues, and repulses to the vices of men.

When king Pyrrhus prepared for his expedition into Italy, his wise counsellor Cyneas, to make him sensible of the vanity of his ambition : ‘ Well, Sir, (said he †,) to what end do you make all this mighty preparation ? ‘ To make myself master of Italy, (reply’d the king.) ‘ And what then ? (said Cyneas) I will pass over into ‘ Gaul and Spain, (said the other) And what next ? I ‘ will then go to reduce Africk ; and lastly, when I have ‘ brought the whole world to my subjection, I will rest ‘ content, and live at my own ease. For God’s sake, ‘ sir, (reply’d Cyneas,) tell me what hinders, that you ‘ may not, if you please, be now in that condition ? Why ‘ do you not now, at this instant, settle yourself in the ‘ state you say you aim at, and spare yourself the labour ‘ and hazard you must encounter.

*Nimirum quia non bene norat quæ esset habendi
Finis, Et omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas ‡. i. e.*

The end of being rich he did not know ;

Nor to what pitch felicity should grow.

I will conclude with an old versicle, that I think very pat to the purpose.

Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam §. i. e.

Himself, not fortune ev’ry one must blame,

Since men’s own manners do their fortunes frame.

* Plutarch in the banquet of the seven wise men, ch. 13.

† Plutarch in the life of Pyrrhus, ch. 7. of Amyot’s translation.

‡ Lucret. lib. v. v. 1131.

§ Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici.

C H A P. XLIII. *Of sumptuary laws.*

THE method by which our laws attempt to regulate idle and vain expences in meat and cloaths, seems to be quite contrary to the end designed. The true way would be, to beget in men a contempt of silks and gold, as vain and useles; whereas we add honour and value to them, which sure is a very improper way to create a disgust to them. For to enact, that none but princes shall eat turbot, nor wear velvet or gold lace, and interdict these things to the people, what is it but to bring them into greater esteem, and to set every one more agog to eat, and wear them? Let kings (without more ado,) leave off these ensigns of grandeur, they have enough besides; such excesses are more excusable in a subject, than a Prince. We may learn by the example of several nations, better ways for the external distinction of rank and quality (which truly I conceive to be very requisite in a state) without fostering so manifest corruption and inconvenience, for this purpose.

It is strange how suddenly, and with how much ease, custom, in these indifferent things, establishes itself, and becomes authority. We had scarce worn cloth a year, for the court mourning of Henry the second, but that silks were grown into such universal contempt, that a man so clad, was presently concluded to be a citizen. The silks were divided betwixt the physicians and chirurgeons, and tho' all other people, almost, went in the same dress, there were notwithstanding, in one respect or other, visible distinctions of men's qualities. How suddenly are the greasy Chamois doublets become the fashion in our armies, whilst all neatness and richness of habit fall into contempt? Let kings but begin to leave off this expence, and in a month the business will be done throughout the kingdom; and without an edict we shall all follow. It should be rather proclaimed on the contrary, that no one should wear scarlet or gold lace, but whores and tumblers.

Zaleucus, with the like invention, reclaimed the corrupted

rupted manners of the Locrians, his laws were *, that no free woman should be allowed any more than one maid to follow her, unless she was drunk : Nor was to stir out of the city by night, nor wear jewels of gold, or an embroidered gown, unless she was a prostitute and publick whore : No men but ruffians were to wear a gold ring, nor to be seen in one of those effeminate vests woven in the city of Miletum. By which infamous exceptions, he discreetly diverted his citizens, from superfluities, and pernicious pleasures, and it was a project of great utility to attract men, by honour and ambition, to their duty and obedience.

Our kings may do what they please in such external reformati^ons, their own inclinations stand in this case for a law. ‘*Quicquid principes faciunt, præcipere videntur*†.’ i. e. What princes themselves do they seem to enjoin others to do. Whatever is done at court, passes for a rule through the rest of France. Let the courtiers but discountenance those abominable breeches, that discover so much of those parts which should be concealed ; those tun-bellied doublets, that make us look like I know not what, and are so unfit for the bearing of arms ; those long effeminate locks of hair ; the silly custom of kissing what we present to our equals, as well as our hands in saluting them ; a ceremony in former times only due to princes : Let them not indulge a gentleman to appear in a place of respect without his sword unbuttoned and untruss^t, as though he came from the house of office ; and let it not be suffered that, contrary to the custom of our forefathers, and the particular privilege of the noblesse of this kingdom, we shall stand a long way off bareheaded to them in what place soever, and the same to a hundred others, (so many tierces and quarts of kings we have got now-a-days,) and the like of other such vicious innovations ; they will see them all vanished and cried down. These are, it is true, superficial errors ; but however a bad prognostick, and it is enough to inform us that the whole fabrick is crazy and tottering, when we see the rough-cast of our walls to cleave and split.

VOL. I.

P

Plato

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. c. 20.

† ‘*Quintilian pro milite*‘*Declamat. p. 38. lib. iii. in 8vo. ‘ex Officinâ Hackianâ, 1665.’*

Plato in his laws *, esteems nothing of more pestiferous consequence to this city, than to give youth † the liberty of introducing any change in their habits, gestures, dances, songs, and exercises, from one form to another; shifting from this to that side, hunting after novelties, and applauding the inventors; by which means manners are corrupted, and the old institutions come to be nauseated and despised. In all things, saving only in those that are evil, a change is to be feared; even the change of seasons, winds, provisions and humours. And no laws are in their true credit, but such to which God has given so long a continuance, that no one knows their beginning, or that there ever were others.

C H A P. XLIV. *Of Sleep.*

REASON directs, that we should always go the same way, but not always the same pace. And consequently though a wise man ought not so much to give the reins to human passions, as to let them turn him from the right path; he may notwithstanding without prejudice to his duty, leave it to them to hasten, or to slack his speed, and not to fix himself like a motionless, and insensible Colossus. Could virtue itself put on flesh and blood, I believe the pulse would beat faster going on to an assault, than in going to dinner. Nay, there is a necessity it should beat and be moved upon this head. I have taken notice, as of an uncommon thing in some great men, who in the highest and most important enterprises, have been loth to rise from their seat, or so much as to shorten their sleep †. Alexander the Great on the day assigned for that furious battle with Darius, slept so profoundly, and so long in the morning, that Parmenio

was

* Lib. viii. p. 631. † At present the wit and politeness of several European nations consist very much in frequently altering the fashion of their cloaths, and in treating those they have just quitted with insipid sailleries, if those modes are still kept up by their neighbours, or in any town of the country, remote from the capital. As to this human frailty, See Montaigne ch. xlix. of this vol.

† Plutarch in the life of Alexander, ch. 11. of Amyot's translation.

was forced to enter his chamber, go to his bed-side, and to call him several times by his name, in order to awake him, because the hour of battle was just at hand.

The emperor Otho, having put on a resolution to kill himself the same night, after having settled his domestick affairs, divided his money amongst his servants, and set a good edge upon a sword he had made choice of for the purpose *, and slaying only to be satisfied whether all his friends were retired in safety, he fell into such a sound sleep, that the gentlemen of his chamber heard him snore. The death of this emperor has in it many circumstances parallel to that of the great Cato, and particularly this : For Cato being ready to dispatch himself, whilst he only staid his hand, till they brought him the news whether the senators he had sent away, were put out from the port of Utica †, he fell into so sound a sleep, that they heard him into the next room ; and he whom he had sent to the port, having awaked him, to let him know that the tempestuous weather had hindered the senators from putting to sea ; he dispatched away another messenger, and composing himself again in the bed, slept so, till by the return of the last messenger, he had certain intelligence they were gone.

We may here further compare him with Alexander too, in that great and dangerous storm that threatened Cato by the sedition of the tribune Metellus, who attempting to publish a decree for the calling of Pompey with his army into the city, at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, was only opposed by Cato, so that very sharp language and bitter menaces past between them in the senate, about that affair ; but it was the next day in the forenoon, that the controversy was to be decided ; when Metellus, besides the favour of the people, and of Cæsar, (at that time of Pompey's faction) was to appear accompanied with a rabble of foreign slaves and desperate fencers ; and Cato only fortified with his own courage and constancy ; so that his relations, domesticks, and many good people were in great apprehensions for him :

* Plutarch in the life of Otho, ch. 8.

† Plutarch in the life of Cato of Utica, ch. 19.

And some there were, who pass the whole night without sleep, eating, or drinking, because of the manifest danger they saw him exposed to ; for which his wife and sisters did nothing but weep, and torment themselves in his house ; whereas he, on the contrary, comforted every one, and after having supped in his usual manner, went to bed *, and slept profoundly till morning, that one of his fellow tribunes roused him to go to the encounter. The knowledge we have of the greatness of this man's courage by the rest of his life, may warrant us securely to judge, that his indifference proceeded from a soul so much elevated above such accidents, that he disdained to let it take any more hold of his thought, than any other ordinary adventure.

In the naval victory, that Augustus won of Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, just as they were to begin the fight he was so fast asleep, that his friends were compelled to wake him to give the signal of battle † : And this was what gave Mark Antony afterwards occasion to reproach him, that he had not the courage, so much as with open eyes to behold the order of his battle, nor to face the soldiers, till Agrippa had brought him news of the victory he had obtained over his enemies.

But as to young Marius, who did much worse (for the day of the last battle, against Sylla §, after he had marshalled his army, and given the word and the signal of battle, he laid him down under the shade of a tree to repose himself, and fell so fast asleep, that the rout, and flight of his Men could hardly awake him, having seen nothing of the fight) he is said to have been at that time so extremely spent, with labour and want of sleep, that nature could hold out no longer. Now, upon what has been said, the physicians may consider whether sleep be so necessary that our lives depend upon it : For we read that king Perseus of Macedon being prisoner at Rome, was killed by being debarred from sleep ; but Pliny instances such as have lived long without sleep ‡. Herodotus

* Plut. in the life of Cato of Utica, ch. 8. † Suetonius in the life of Augustus, cap. 16. § Plutarch in the life of Sylla, ch. 13.

‡ He mentions but one instance that I find, which is o. Meccenas, who, he says, for the last three years of his life had not one moments' sleep. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. sect. 32.

dotus speaks of nations, where the men sleep and wake by half years *. And they who wrote the life of the wise Epimenides, affirm, that he slept fifty seven years together †.

C H A P. XLV. *Of the Battle of Dreux.*

OUR battle of Dreux ‡ is remarkable for several uncommon accidents : but such as do not much favour the reputation of the duke of Guise, say he was to blame for making a halt, and delaying time with his forces he commanded, whilst the constable, who was general of the army, was raked through, and through with the enemy's artillery : and that he had much better have ran the hazard of charging the enemy in the flank, than staying for the advantage of falling in upon the rear, to suffer so great a loss.

But, besides what the event demonstrated, whoever will consider it without prejudice, will, I think, easily be induced to confess, that the aim and design not of a captain only, but of every private soldier, ought to be a victory in general ; and that no particular occurrences, how nearly soever they may concern his own interest, should divert him from that pursuit. Philopœmen § in an encounter with Machanidas, having sent before a good strong party of his archers, to begin the skirmish, which were routed by the enemy, the pursuers pushing on their victory near the corps where Philopœmen was, though his soldiers were impatient to fall on, yet he did not think fit to stir from his post, nor to face the enemy to relieve his men ; but having suffered them to be pursued, and cut in pieces before his face,

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he

* Herodotus speaks of this only by hear-say, and positively declares he did not believe it, lib. iv. p. 264. But perhaps he took this story in too literal a sense, and that it was intended for no other than a hint to him, that the people who live under the pole, are deprived of the light of the sun, for six months in the year, but enjoy it for the following six months ; which is very true, if there be inhabitants in that part of the globe.

† Diogenes Laertius in the life of Epimenides, lib. i. sect. 109.

‡ It was fought anno 1562, in the reign of Charles IX. and won by the conduct and valour of the duke of Guise.

§ Plutarch in the life of Philopœmen, ch. 6.

he charged a battalion of the enemy's foot, when he saw them left naked by their horse; and notwithstanding that they were Lacedæmonians, yet taking them in the nick, when thinking themselves secure of the victory, they began to disorder their ranks, he did his business with great facility, and then put himself in pursuit of Machanidas. Which case is very like that of Monsieur de Guise.

In that bloody battle betwixt Agesilaus, and the Bœotians, which Xenophon, who was present at it, reports to be the sharpest that he had ever seen, Agesilaus * waved the advantage that fortune presented him, to let the Bœotians battalion pass by, than to charge them in the rear, so sure he made himself of the victory, judging it would be more art than valour, to proceed that way; and therefore, to shew his proofs, he rather chose, with a wonderful ardour of courage, to charge them in the front; but he was well beaten, and wounded for his pains, and constrained at last to disengage himself, and to take the course he had at first neglected; opening his battalion to give passage to this torrent of the Bœotians who being past by, he taking notice that they marched in disorder, like men that thought themselves quite out of danger, pursued, and charged them in flank and rear; yet could not bring it to so general a rout, but that they leisurely retreated, still facing about upon him, till they got to a place of safety.

C H A P. XLVI. *Of Names.*

WHAT variety of herbs soever are in the dish, goes by the whole name of a sallet. In like manner, under the consideration of names, I will make a hotch-potch of differing articles.

Every nation has certain names that, I know not why, are disliked, as with us, John, William, Benedict. In the Genealogy of princes, there seems also to be certain names fatally affected, as the Ptolemies of Egypt, the Henrys of England, the Charleses of France, the Baldwins of Flanders, and the Williams of our
ancient

* Plutarch in the life of Agesilaus, ch. 6.

ancient Aquitaine, from whence, it is said, the name of Guienne had its derivation; which how far fetched soever, there are as crude derivations in Plato himself.

It is also a frivolous thing yet worthy to be recorded for the strangeness of it, which is writ by an eye-witness; that Henry, duke of Normandy, son of Henry the second, king of England, making an entertainment in France, the concourse of nobility and gentry was so great, that being, for fancy's sake, divided into companies of the same names, in the first, which consisted of Williams, there were an hundred and ten knights sitting at the table of that name, without reckoning the ordinary gentlemen, and their servants.

It is altogether as pleasant to distinguish the tables by the names of the guests, as it was in the emperor Geta *, to distinguish the several dishes of his meat by the first letters of the meats themselves, where those that began with B, were served up together, as bacon, brawn, beef, bream, bustards, and so of others.

Now there is a saying, that it is a good thing, to have a good name, that is to say, credit, and a good repute: but besides this, it is really convenient, to have such a name as is easy to be pronounced and remembered; by reason, that kings, and other great persons, do by that means the more easily know, and the more hardly forget us; and indeed, of our own servants, we more frequently call and employ those, whose names are the most ready upon the tongue. I myself have seen Henry the second, when he could not remember a gentleman's name of our country of Gascony, and was fain to call one of the queen's maids of honour, by the general name of the race, her own family name was so strange. Socrates also thinks it worthy a father's care, to give easy names to his children.

It is said, that the foundation of Notre Dame la Grande, at Poitiers, was owing to a young debauchee, formerly living in that place, who having got a whore, and, at her first coming in, asking her name, and being answered, that it was Mary, he felt himself so suddenly

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pene-

* Aelij Spartiani Antoninus Geta, p. 92. Hist. August.

penetrated with the awe of religion, and the reverence of that sacred name of the virgin mother of our Saviour, that he not only immediately put his mistress away from him, but became a reformed man for the remainder of his life : and in consideration of this miracle, there was erected upon the spot, where this young man's house stood, first a chapel dedicated to our lady, and afterwards the church that we now see standing there. This vocal and auricular reproof, made its way most devoutly into the soul. This that follows, insinuated itself merely by the corporal senses ; Pythagoras being in company with some young rakes, and perceiving that, heated with the feast, they plotted to go and violate an honest house, commanded the minstrel * to alter the tune, and by a solemn, grave, and spondaick musick, gently charmed and laid asleep their ardour. Will not posterity say, that our modern reformation has been delicately exact, in having not only struggled with errors and vices, and filled the world with devotion, humility, obedience, peace, and all kinds of virtue ; but having proceeded so far, as to quarrel with the ancient baptismal names of Charles, Lewis, and Francis, to people the world with Methusalems, Ezechiels, and Malachies, which have a much more spiritual sound ?

A gentleman, my neighbour, reckoning up the superior advantages of old times, in comparison with ours, did not forget to bring into the account, the lofty and magnificent names of some gentlemen of those days, Don Grumedan, Quedregan, Agefilan, &c. which but to hear sounded, he perceived to be other kind of men, than Pierre, Guillot, and Michel.

I am mightily pleased with Jaques Amyot, for leaving throughout a whole French oration, the Latin names entire, without varying and garbling them, to give a French cadence. It seemed a little harsh at first : but already custom, by the authority of Plutarch, has overcome it. I have often wished, that such as write histories in Latin, would leave our names just as they are ; for in making Vaudemont, Vallemontanus, and metamorphosing names, to make them more uniform

* Sextus Empiricus adversus Mathem. lib. vi. p. 128.

to the Greek or Latin; we know not where we are, nor who the persons were.

To conclude, it is a scurvy custom, and of very ill consequence, that we have in our kingdom of France, to call every one by the name of his manor, or seigneurie, and the thing in the world that does the most confound and mistake pedigrees. A younger brother of a good family, who has had a manor left him for his appenage, by the name of which he has been known and honoured, cannot handsomely quit the name: ten years after his decease, it goes to a stranger, who does the same: do but judge how we shall do to know these men. We need look no further for examples, than our own royal family, where every partition of estates, creates a new surname, whilst, in the mean time, the original of the family is totally lost.

There is so great liberty taken in these changes, that I have not in my time seen any one advanced by fortune, to any extraordinary grandeur, who has not presently had genealogical titles added to him, new, and unknown to his father, and who has not been inoculated into some illustrious stem; and by good luck, the obscurest families, are the most proper for falsification. How many gentlemen have we in France, who, by their own talk, are of royal extraction? more, I think, than who will confess they are not. Was it not handsomely said by a friend of mine? There were a great many gentlemen assembled together, about the dispute of one lord of a manor, with another; which other had in truth, some pre-eminence of titles and alliances, above the ordinary class of gentry. Upon the debate of this prerogative, every one aiming to make himself equal to him, alledged one one extraction, another another; one the near resemblance of name, another of the coat of arms, another an old worm-eaten patent; and the last pretended to be, great-grandson to some foreign king. When they were going to dinner, my friend, instead of taking his place amongst them, retired with most profound conges, intreating the company to excuse him, for having hitherto lived with them at the saucy rate of a companion: but being now better

informed of their ancient quality, he would begin to pay them the respect due to their degrees, and added that it did not become him to sit down among so many princes: but he ended the farce with a thousand invectives. 'Let us, in God's name, satisfy ourselves with what our fathers were contented, and with what we are: we are great enough, if we rightly understand how to maintain it: let us not disown the rank and fortune of our ancestors, but lay aside these ridiculous pretences, that can never be wanting to any one that has the impudence to alledge them.'

Coats of arms have no more security; than surnames. I bear 'Azure powdered with trefails, or, with a lion's paw of the same armed gules in fesse.' What privilege has this picture to continue particularly in my family? A son-in-law will transfer it in another family; or some paltry purchaser, will make mine his first arms; there is nothing in short wherein there is more change and confusion. But this consideration leads me perforce into another field. Let us pry a little narrowly into, and, in God's name, examine upon what basis we erect this glory and reputation, for which the world is turned topsy turvy: wherein do we place this renown, that we hunt after with so much trouble? It is, in conclusion, Peter or William that carries it, takes it into his possession, and whom it only concerns. O what a courageous faculty is hope, that in a mortal subject, and in a moment, proceeds to usurp infinity and immensity, and to supply her master's indigence at her pleasure, with all things he can imagine or desire? nature has given us this passion for a pretty toy to play withal. And this Peter or William, what is it but a sound, when all is said and done? or three or four strokes of a pen, so easy to be varied, in the first place, that I would fain know to whom is to be attributed the glory of so many victories, to Guesquin, to Glesquin? or to Guaquin? And yet there would be a much greater probability in this case, than in Lucian, that Sigma should serve Tau, or S. T. with a process; for,

————— *Non levia, aut ludicra petuntur*
Præmia *. i. e.

To

* *Æneid*. lib. xii. v. 764.

To do brave acts, who has the noble spirit,
 Slights mean rewards, as things below his merit.
 It is no jesting matter: the question is, which of these
 letters ought to be rewarded for so many sieges, battles,
 wounds, imprisonments and services done to the crown
 of France, by this her famous constable *.

Nicholas Denifot † never minded any thing but the
 letters of his name, of which he has altered the whole
 contexture to build up, by Anagram, the count
 d'Alfinois, whom he has celebrated with the best of his
 poetry and painting. And the historian Suetonius was
 so fond that his name should carry a meaning, that he
 cashiered his father's surname Lewis, to leave Tran-
 quillus successor to the reputation of his writings.
 Who would believe that captain Bayard should have
 no honour, but what he derives from the feats of Peter
 Terrail? And that Antonio Escalin ‡ should suffer him-
 self

* In Froissart's history where we find all the most memorable
 actions of this great man, both before and after his advancement to
 the dignity of constable to his death, he is not named Guesquin, nor
 Glesquin, nor Guaaquin but Guesclin. It is true that the same
 Froissart long after, having mentioned his death, tells us that having
 called him by the name of Glesquin, in presence of William d'An-
 cenis a gentleman of Brittany, the gentleman said to him, 'That
 'Glai Aquin was the right name of this famous constable,' which
 he proves to him by a very pleasant story, which however has all the
 air of a romance. See Froissart's 3d vol. ch. 75.

† Born at Mans, in the year 1515.

‡ To be informed concerning Antonio Escalin, or Iscalin, or
 rather captain Paulin, called the baron de la Garde, it is necessary to
 trace the history of France from Francis I. in 1542, to Charles IX.
 He was a man of fortune, handsome and well set, and bred up by
 William de Rallay de Langey, governor of the Piedmontese. His
 family name was Iscalin. M. Wicquefort, calls him Anthony Pau-
 lin, from Paulin in the Albigeois, where he was born. He is called
 in M. de Thou's history, Antonius Iscalinus Adhemarus, (and oftener
 Adæmarus) Polinuis Garda. He took the name of de la Garde, from
 a corporal of that name, who, passing one day thro' Paulin, with a
 company of foot-soldiers, took a fancy to him, and carried him off
 with him, to make him his boy. He distinguished himself by his
 wit, valour and conduct in the several employments which he had, as
 general of the galley, and ambassador to the Porte and to England. See
 his eulogium in Brantome's, memoirs of illustrious men, p. 375.
 tome 2. lib. i. ch. 11. of Wicquefort's, Ambassador. G attitude will
 not permit me to conceal that I am obliged for the greatest part of the
 memoirs

self to his face, to be robbed of the honour of so many navigations and commands at sea and land, by captain Paulin and the baron De la garde?

Secondly, there are dashes of the pen, common to a thousand people. How many persons are there in all races, of the same name and surname? and how many in different races, ages, and countries? history tells us of three of the name of Socrates, of five Platos, eight Aristotles, seven Xenophons, twenty Demetrius's and of twenty Theodores; and how many such history was not acquainted with we may imagine. Who hinders my groom from calling himself Pompey the Great? But after all, what virtue, or what springs are there that fixed upon my deceased groom, or the other Pompey, who had his head cut off in Egypt, this glorious renown, and these so much honoured flourishes of the pen, so as to be of any advantage to them?

Id cinerem, & manes credis curare sepultos * ? i. e.

Can we believe the dead regard such things?

What sense have the two most worthy colleagues amongst men? Epaminondas of this glorious verse, that has been so many ages current in his praise;

Consiliis nostris laus est attrita † laconum: i. e.

One Sparta by my counsels is o'erthrown.

Or Africanus of this other?

A sole exoriente, supra Mæotis Laludes

Nemo est, qui factis me æquiparare queat †, i. e.

From early dawn, unto the setting sun,

No one can match the deeds that I have done.

The survivors indeed tickle themselves with these fine words, and being by them incited to jealousy or desire, inconsiderately and fancifully attribute this their sense to the dead: God knows how vainly flattering themselves, that they shall one day, in turn, be capable of the same characters: however,

Ad

memoirs of this person, and the preceding, to an account sent me from Paris, by the learned and obliging M. de la Monnoye, who extracted it from his treasures, at the request of a young nobleman, (the count de Cay'us) of an illustrious birth, adorned with qualities, which are the source and basis of true nobility.

* *Æneid*. lib. iv. v. 34.

† *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* lib. v. c. 17.

‡ *Id.* *ibid.* c. 7.

————— *Ad hæc se*
Romanus, Graiusque & Barbarus, Induperator
Erexit; causas discriminis, atque laboris
Inde habuit, tanto major famæ sitis est, quàm
Virtutis *. i. e.

Greek, Roman, and Barbarian chiefs to these,
 Devote their valour and contrivances,
 And to that greediness of glory owe
 The dangers and fatigues they undergo;
 So much more potent is the thirst of fame
 Than that of virtue.

CHAP. XLVII. *Of the Uncertainty of our Judgment.*

IT was well said of the poet,

Ἐπείν δὲ πολὺς νόμος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα †. i. e.

* There is every where liberty of arguing enough, and
 "enough to be said on both sides." For example:

Vince Annibal; & non seppe usar' poi.

Ben la vittoriosa sua ventura ‡. i. e.

Hannibal conquer'd; but was not so wise.

To make good use of all his victories.

Such as would improve this argument, and condemn
 the late oversight of our leaders, in not pushing our
 point at Moncontour; or accuse the king of § Spain of
 not knowing how to make use of the advantage he had
 against us at St. Quintin, may conclude these over-
 sights to proceed from a soul already intoxicated with
 success, or from a stout heart; which being full, and
 ever-gorged with this beginning of good fortune, had lost
 the appetite of adding to it, having already enough to
 do to digest what it had taken in: he has his arms full,
 and can seize no more; unworthy of the advantage
 fortune had put into his hands: for what utility does he
 reap from it, if, notwithstanding, he gives his enemy
 an opportunity to recover, and make head against
 him?

* Juvenal Sat. x. v. 137, &c.
 ver. 219.

† Vetrar. Son. 83.

‡ Homer, Iliad 20.
 § Philip II. who
 defeated the French near St. Quintin, the 20th of August, 1556, be-
 ing St. Lawrence's day.

him? What hope is there that he will have courage at another time to attack an enemy reunited and recomposed and armed anew with spite and revenge, who did not dare to pursue him when routed, and dispirited by fear?

Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror *, i. e.

Whilst fortune's in a heat, and terror throws

A dismal gloom, confounding all their foes.

But withal, what better opportunity can he expect, than that he has lost? it is not here as in fencing, where the most hits gain the prize: for so long as the enemy is on foot, hostilities will be renewed; and that is not to be called a victory, which puts not an end to the battle. In the encounter where Cæsar had the worst, near to the city of Oricum, he reproached Pompey's soldiers †, that he had been ruined, had their general known how to overcome; and in his turn he puts him to flight, and pursued him. But why may not a man also argue, on the contrary, that it is the effect of a precipitant and insatiable spirit, not to know how to stop its ardour; that it is to abuse the favours of God, to exceed the measure he has prescribed them; and that again to throw a man's self into danger, after a victory obtained, is again to expose himself to the mercy of fortune; and that it shews the greatest discretion in the art of war, not to drive an enemy to despair. Sylla and Marius, in their confederate war, having defeated the Marsians, and seeing a body of reserve, that, prompted by despair, was coming on like wild beasts to fall upon them, thought it not convenient to stand their charge. Had not monsieur de Foix's ardour transported him so precipitantly to pursue the remains of the vanquished at Ravenna, he had not stained the victory by his own death: and yet the recent memory of his example, served to preserve monsieur d'Anguien from the same misfortune, at the battle of Serisoles. It is dangerous to attack a man you have deprived of all means to escape, but by his arms; for necessity dictates violent measures: 'Gravissimi sunt morsus irritatæ necessitatis ‡,' i. e. Enraged necessity bites deep.

Vin-

* Lucan. lib. vii. ver. 734.

† Plutarch, in the life of Cæsar, ch. xi.

‡ Port. Lat. in Decla.

Vincitur haud gratis jugulo qui provocat hostem *. i. e.

The foe that meets the sword, sells his life dear.

—This was it that made Pharax withhold the king of Lacedæmon, who had defeated the Mantineans †, from going to charge a thousand Argians, who were escaped in an entire body from the defeat; but rather let them steal off at liberty, that he might not encounter valour, whetted and enraged by misfortune. Clodomire, king of Aquitaine, after his victory pursuing Gondemar, king of Burgundy, who was routed and flying, compelled him to face about, and make head, wherein his obstinacy deprived him of the fruit of his victory, for he there lost his life.

In like manner, if a man were to chuse whether he would have his soldiers sumptuously and richly armed, or armed only for necessary defence; this argument would step in, in favour of the first (of which opinion was Sertorius, Philopœmen, Brutus, Cæsar, ‡ and others) that it always is to a soldier, a spur to his honour and glory, to see himself fine, and withal, a motive for him to be more obstinate in fight, having his arms, that are in a manner his estate and inheritance, to defend; which is the reason (says Xenophon) why those of Asia carried their wives, concubines, with their choicest jewels and treasure, along with them to their wars. But then, this would also be an argument for the other side, That the general ought rather to render his men careless of life, than to increase their care of preserving it: that, by this means, they will be in a double fear of hazarding their persons, as it will spirit up the enemy to fight with greater resolution, where so rich spoils are to be obtained by the victory: and this very thing has been observed, in former times, wonderfully to encourage the Romans against the Samnites. Antiochus shewing Hannibal the army he had raised against them, splendid, and rich, in all sorts of equipage, asked him, ‘If the Romans would be satisfied with this army? satisfied,’ replied the other, yes doubtless, were their avarice ‘ever so great.’ Lycurgus not only forbade his soldiers to be sumptuous in their equipage, but moreover to strip their

* Luc. lib. iv. ver. 275.

† Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. c. 25.

‡ Suetonius, in the life of Cæsar, sect. 67.

their conquered enemies, being desirous (as he said) that poverty and frugality should shine with the rest of the battle.

At sieges, and elsewhere, where occasion draws us near to the enemy, we willingly suffer our men to brave, insult, and affront the enemy, with all sorts of injurious language; and not without some colour of reason: for it is of no little consequence to take from them all hopes of mercy and composition, in representing to them, that there is no favour to be expected from an enemy they have so incensed, nor other remedy left, but in a victory. And yet Vitellius * found himself herein deceived; for having to do with Otho, weaker in the valour of his soldiers, long unaccustomed to war, and effeminated with the delights of the city, he so nettled them, at last, with injurious language, reproaching them with cowardice, and the regret of the mistresses and entertainments they had left behind at Rome, that, by this means, he inspired them with a resentment, which no exhortation could produce; and himself drew them upon his back, whom their own captains before could not push upon him. And, indeed, when they are injuries that touch to the quick, it may very well fall out, that he who went but coolly to work in the behalf of his prince, will proceed with another temper when the quarrel is his own.

To consider of how great importance is the preservation of the general of an army; and that the aim of an enemy is levelled directly at that head upon which all the others depend; the advice seems to admit of no dispute, which we know has been taken by so many great captains, of changing their habit, and disguising their persons, upon the point of a battle. Nevertheless, the inconvenience a man, by so doing, runs into, is not less than that which he thinks to avoid: for the general being, by this means, concealed from the knowledge of his own men, the courage they might derive from his presence and example, happens, by degrees, to fail; and not seeing the wonted † marks and ensigns of their leader,

* Or rather his lieutenants, who commanded in his absence. See Plutarch's life of Otho, ch. 3.

† As to the battle of Ivry, is the person of Henry the great.

der, they presently conclude him either dead, or that, despairing of the day, he is gone to shift for himself; and experience declares, that both these ways have been successful at times. What befel Pyrrhus, in his battle with the consul Levinus in Italy, will serve us to both purposes: for though, by shrouding his person under the armour of Demogacles *, and making him wear his own, he indeed saved his own life; yet, by that very means, he was withal very near running into the other mischief, of losing the battle. Alexander, Cæsar, and Lucullus, loved to make themselves known in a battle, by rich accoutrements, and armour of a particular lustre and colour: Agis, Agesilaus, and that great Gilippus †, on the contrary, used to fight in dull armour, and without any princely attire.

Amongst other oversights Pompey ‡ is charged withal, at the battle of Pharsalia, he is condemned for making his army stand still to receive the enemy's charge; by reason that (I shall here steal Plutarch's own words, that are better than mine) it slackens the violent impression which the motion of running gives to the first blow, and hinders that clashing of the combatants, one against another, which used to fill them, more than any thing, with great impetuosity and fury, on the first encounter; especially when they rush in upon one another with vigour, increasing their courage by the shouts and the career, rendering the soldiers ardour, as one may say, more cool and firm. This is what he says, on this side of the question; but if Cæsar had come by the worse, why

* Or rather Megacles, as may be seen in Plutarch's life of Pyrrhus, ch. 8.

† It is my opinion that one who has been forced to fly his country from a sentence of death, for having robbed the publick, can never deserve the title of a great man. As to the infamous robbery committed by this Gilippus, see Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiii. ch. 33. translated by Amyot. His father, whose name was Clearchus, was in the same scrape. Being cast for his life, he fled, says Diodorus, before the sentence. Thus, adds the historian, did these two personages, who in other respects were both reputed excellent men, throw a scandal upon the rest of their lives and actions, by suffering themselves to be corrupted with sordid avarice.

‡ It is Cæsar himself that lays this blame on Pompey. *De Bello Civili*, lib. iii. ch. 17.

why might it not as well have been urged by another, on the contrary, that the strongest and most steady posture of fighting, is that wherein a man stands planted firm, without motion; and that he who makes a halt upon a march, by confining, and reserving his force within himself for an occasion, has a great advantage against him who is shocked, and who has already spent half his breath in running on to the charge? Besides, that an army being a body made up of so many different parts, it is impossible for it to move, in such fury, with so exact a motion, as not to disturb or break the order of battle, and to hinder the most forward men from being engaged, before their comrades can relieve them. In that unnatural battle, betwixt the two Persian brothers, Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the Greeks of Cyrus's party, led them on in fine order, and without hurry, to the charge; but coming within fifty paces, put them up on full speed, hoping, in so short a career, to keep them both in order and breath, and, at the same time, giving the advantage of impetuosity both to their persons and their missile arms: others have settled this question in their army thus: if your enemy come running upon you, stand firm to receive him; if he stand firm to receive you, run full drive upon him*.

In the expedition of the emperor Charles the fifth into Provence, king Francis might have chosen, either to go meet him in Italy, or to expect him in his own dominions; wherein though he considered of how great advantage it was to keep his own territories clear from the troubles of war, to the end that his strength being intire, he might continually supply men and money at need; that the necessity of war requires, at every turn, to spoil and waste the country, which cannot well be done upon one's own; and that the country people do not easily digest such havock by those of their own party, as from an enemy, so that seditions and commotions might, by such means, be kindled amongst us; that the license of pillage and plunder (which are not to be tolerated at home) is a great ease to the sufferings of war; and that he who has no other prospect of gain, than his bare pay, will hardly be kept upon duty, when

but

* Plutarch, in the precepts of marriage, sect. 34.

but two steps from his wife, and his own house: that he who lays the cloth, is ever at the charge of the feast: that there is more alacrity in attacking than defending; and that the shock of the loss of a battle in our own bowels, is so violent, as to endanger the dissolution of the whole body, there being no passion so contagious, or that so easily gains ground, as fear; and that the citizens who should hear the rattle of this tempest at their gates, that should take in their captains and soldiers, yet trembling and out of breath, would be in danger, in this combustion, to precipitate themselves upon some untoward resolution: notwithstanding all this, he chose to recall the forces he had beyond the mountains, and to wait for the enemy. For he might, on the other hand, imagine, that being at home, and amongst his friends, he could not fail of plenty of all manner of conveniencies; the rivers and passes of which he was master, would bring in both provisions and money safe, without the trouble of convoy; that he should find his subjects the more affectionate to him, the nearer their danger was; that having so many cities and barriers to secure him, it would be in his power to hasten or delay battle, as he saw fit; and if the latter pleased him, that he might, under covert, and at his own ease, see his enemy founder, and defeat himself with the difficulties he was certain to encounter, in an enemy's country; where, before, behind, and on every side, war would be made upon him, and where he would have, in case of a sickness in his army, no means to refresh himself, or to enlarge his quarters, or to lodge his wounded men in safety: no money, no victuals, but what he fights for; no leisure to halt and take breath, no knowledge of the ways or country, to secure him from ambushes and surprizes; and, in case of losing a battle, no possible means of saving the remains. Neither is there want of examples in both these cases.

Scipio thought it much better to go and attack his enemy's territories in Africk, than to stay at home to defend his own, and to fight him in Italy, where he was; and it succeeded well with him: but, on the contrary, Hannibal, in the same war, ruined himself, by abandoning the conquest of a foreign country, to go
and.

and defend his own. The Athenians having left the enemy in their own dominions, to go over into Sicily, were not favoured by fortune; but Agathocles, king of Syracuse found her favourable to him, when he went over into Africk, and left the war at home. So that the common observation is just, that events, especially in war, do, for the most part, depend upon fortune, who will not be governed by, nor submit to human prudence; according to the poet.

Et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallax,

Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes :

Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur.

Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogatque, regatque

*Majus, Et in proprias ducat mortalia leges **

Prudence deceitful and uncertain is,

Ill counsels sometimes hit, where good ones miss;

Nor yet does fortune the best cause approve,

But wildly does without distinction rove.

So that some greater and more constant cause,

Rules and subjects all mortals to its laws :

But, to take the thing right, it should seem that our counsels and deliberations depend as much upon fortune, as what we do; and that she engages our very reasoning in her uncertainty and confusion. We argue rashly and adventurously, says Timæus in Plato †, by reason that, as well as ourselves, our arguments have great participation with the temerity of chance.

C H A P. XLVIII. *Of the War Horses called Destriers.*

BEHOLD I am become a Grammarian; I who never learned any language but by rote, and who do not yet know adjective, conjunction, or ablative. I think I have read, that the Romans had a sort of horses by them called Funales, or Dextrarios, which were either led-horses, or horses laid in at several stages, to be taken fresh upon occasion; and thence it is, that we call our horses of service, Destriers: and our romances commonly use the phrase of a Romans Destrier for

* Manil. astron. lib. iv. ver. 85, &c.
p. 528.

† Plato, in Timæus.

for Accompanier to accompany. They also called *desultores equos* those horses that were trained in such sort, that running horses, full speed, side by side, without bridle or saddle, the Roman gentlemen, armed at all points, would shift, and throw themselves from the one to the other, in the midst of the race. The Numidian *Gens d'Arms*, had always a led-horse in one hand, besides that they rode upon, to change in the heat of battle: ' *Quibus, desultorum in modum, binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis, transultare, mos erat. Tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus* *.' i. e. Whose use it was, leading along two horses, after the manner of the *Desultorum*, armed as they were, in the heat of fight, to vault from a tired horse to a fresh one; so active were the men, and so docile the horses. There are many horses trained up to help their riders, so as to run upon any one that appears with a drawn sword, to fall both with mouth and heels upon any that front or oppose them: but it oft falls out, that they do more harm to their friends than their enemies, besides that you cannot loose them from their hold, to reduce them again to order, when they are once engaged; by which means you remain at the mercy of their quarrel. It happened very ill to Artibius, general of the Persian army, who fighting, man to man, with Onesilus, king of Salamis, and being mounted upon a horse trained after this manner, it proved the occasion of his death; Onesilus's armour-bearer cleaving him down with a falchion betwixt the shoulders †, as the horse was reared up upon his master. And if it be true what the Italians report, that in the battle of Fornoue ‡, king Charles's horse, with kicking and

* Liv. lib. xxiii. c. 29.

† Herodot. lib. v. v. 375.

‡ In the narrative which Philip de Comines has given of this battle, in which he himself was present, (lib. viii. ch. 6.) he tells us of wonderful performances by the horse on which the king was mounted. The name of the horse was Savoy, and he was the most beautiful horse he had ever seen. During the battle the king was personally attacked when he had no body near him, but a Valet de Chambre, a little fellow and not well armed. 'The king, says Philip de Comines, had the best horse under him in the world, and therewith he stood his ground bravely, till a number of his men not a great way from him, arrived at the critical minute when the Italians ran away.'

This

and prancing, disengaged his master from the enemy, that pressed upon him, otherwise he had been killed; it is certain he ran a very great hazard.

The Mamalukes boast, that they have the most dextrous horses of any cavalry in the world; that by nature and custom, they are formed to know and distinguish the enemy they were to fall foul upon, with teeth and heels, according to a word or sign given: as also to gather up with their mouths, darts and lances scattered upon the field, and present them to their riders, on the word of command.

It is said, both of Cæsar and of Pompey the Great, that, amongst other of their excellent qualities, they were excellent horsemen, and particularly of Cæsar *, that in his youth, being mounted on the bare back of a horse, without saddle or bridle, he made him perform all his paces with his hands behind him.

As nature designed to make of this personage, and of Alexander, two miracles of military art, so one would say, she had done her utmost to arm them after an extraordinary manner: for every one knows, that Alexander's horse Bucephalus, had a head inclining to the shape of a bull, that he would suffer himself to be mounted and governed by none but his master, and that he was so honoured after his death, as to have a city built after his name.

Cæsar had also another, who had fore feet like those of a man, and a hoof divided in the form of toes; which was not to be ridden, mounted, or managed, by any but Cæsar himself; who, after his death, dedicated his statue to the goddess Venus †.

I do not willingly alight when I am once on horse-back; for it is the place where, whether well or sick, I find myself most at ease. Plato recommends it for health; and Pliny says, it is wholesome for the stomach and the joints ‡.

We read in Xenophon, of a law, forbidding any one who had a horse, to travel on foot. Trogus and Justinus,

This does not seem very contradictory to what the Italians say; That had it not been for his horse, king Charles would have been lost.

* Plutarch in the life of Julius Cæsar, ch. 5. of Amyot's translation

† Sueton in Cæsar's life, sect. 61.

‡ Lib.

xviii. c. 4.

nus, say, that the Parthians used not only to make war, but to manage all affairs, whether publick or private, make bargains, confer, treat, take the air, and all on horseback; and * that the greatest distinction betwixt freemen and slaves amongst them, was, that the former rode all on horseback, and the latter went on foot: an institution of which king Cyrus was the founder.

There are several examples in the Roman history, (and Suetonius more particularly observes it of Cæsar) of captains, who, on pressing occasions, commanded their cavalry to alight, by that means to take from them all hopes of running away, as also for the advantage they hoped for, by fighting in this manner. ‘*Quo haud dubiè superat Romanus.*’ i. e. Wherein the Romans, says Livy †, did questionless excell: however, the first thing they did to keep the people newly conquered in awe, was to take from them their arms and horses: and therefore it is that we so often meet in Cæsar; ‘*arma proferri, jumenta produci, obsides dari jubet ‡.*’ i. e. He commanded the arms to be surrendered, the horses brought out, and hostages to be given. The Grand Seignior, to this day, suffers not a Christian or a Jew to keep a horse of his own, throughout his empire.

Our ancestors, especially at the time they had war with the English, in all their serious engagements, and pitched battles, fought, for the most part on foot ‖, that they might have nothing but their own force, courage, and strength to trust to, where life and honour were at stake. You trust (whatever Chryses in Xenophon says to the contrary) your valour, and your fortune, to that of your horse; his wounds and death bring your person into the same danger; his fear or fury, shall make you reputed rash or cowardly; if he is headstrong or resty, your honour must answer: and therefore do not think it strange, that those battles I spoke of above, were more firm and furious, than those that are fought on horseback.

————— *Cedebant pariter, paritèrque ruebant*

Victores victique, neque his fuga nota, neque illis §. i. e.

The

* Justin's hist. lib. 12.
Com. de Bello Gallico, lib. vii.
Æneid. lib. x. v. 576.

† Liv. lib. 9. cap. 22.
‖ See Froissart.

‡ Cæsar's
§ Vug.

The victors and the vanquish'd charg'd together,
 Alike they fell, but flight was known to neither.
 Their battles were much better disputed: now a days
 there are nothing but routs; 'Primus clamor, atque im-
 'petus rem decernit:' The first shout, or the first charge,
 puts an end to the business: and the arms we chuse to
 make use of in so great a hazard, should be as much as
 possible at our own command: wherefore I should ad-
 vise to chuse the shortest sort, and such for which we
 can best answer. We may, one would think, rely more
 on a sword in the hand, than on a bullet from a pistol,
 wherein there must be a concurrence of several things,
 to make it perform its office, the powder, the flint, and
 the lock, if any of which fail, it endangers your for-
 tune: a man is not sure to hit, whose aim is directed by
 air.

*Et quod ferre velint permittere vulnera ventis,
 Ensis habet vires, & gens quæcunque virorum est
 Bella gerit gladiis * i. e.*

Far off with bows
 They shoot, and where it lists the wind bestows
 Their wounds; but fight of sword does strength
 require,

All manly nations the sword-fight desire †.
 But of that weapon I shall speak more fully, when I come
 to compare the arms of the ancients with ours. And
 setting aside the astonishment of the ear, which yet every
 one grows familiar with in a little time, I look upon it
 as a weapon of very little execution, and hope we shall
 one day, quite lay it aside.

That missile weapon which the Italians formerly
 made use of both with fire and without, was much
 more terrible: they called a certain kind of javelin,
 armed at the point with an iron spear three feet long,
 that it might pierce through and through an armed man,
 Phalarica. This they sometimes, in field service, darted
 by hand; sometimes from engines for the defence of
 places besieged: the shaft of it being rolled round with
 flax, pitched and oiled, took fire in its flight, and light-
 ing upon the body of a man, or his target, took away
 all the use of arms and limbs. And yet, coming to
 close

* Lucan. lib. viii. v. 384.

† Mr. May's translation.

close fight, I should think it would also disable the assailant, and that the camp being as it were covered with these flaming truncheons, would produce a common inconvenience to both armies.

————— *Magnum stridens contorta Phalarica venit,
Fulminis acta modo* ————— * . i. e.

————— The Phalarica when shot off does fly,

With a huge noise, like thunder, through the sky.
They had, moreover, other devices with which custom acquainted them, (which will seem incredible to us who have not tried them) by which they supplied the want of our powder and shot. They threw their darts with such violence, as oftentimes transfixt two targets, and two armed men at once, and pinned them together. Neither were their slings less certain of execution, or of shorter carriage: ‘Saxis globosis fundâ, mare apertum incessentes: coronas modici circuli magno ex intervallo loci assueti trajicere: non capita modo hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent oris †. i. e.’ Culling round stones from the shore for their slings: and with them practising at a great distance to throw circles of a moderate circumference, they not only wounded an enemy in the head; but hit any other part at pleasure. Their battering pieces did not only the execution, but also imitated the thunder of our cannon: ‘Ad ictus mœnium cum terribili sonitu editos, pavor & trepidatio cœpit †. i. e.’ At the battering of the walls, which is performed with a dreadful noise, the defendants began to fear and tremble. The Gauls our kinsmen in Asia, abominated these treacherous missile arms, it being their practice to fight with greater bravery, hand to hand. ‘Non tam patentibus plagis moventur.—Ubi latior, quam altior, plaga est, etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant: Idem quum æuleus sagittæ aut glandis abditæ introrsus tenui vulnere in speciem urit: tum in rabiem & pudorem tam parvæ perimentis pestis versi, prosternunt corpora humi ||: i. e.’ They are not so much concerned at large wounds; when a wound is wider than deep, they think they fight with greater glory: but when they receive a

Vol. I.

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small

* Virg. *Æneid.* 9. v. 705, &c.

† Liv. lib. xxxviii. c. 29

‡ Id. *ibid.* c. 5.

|| Id. *ibid.* c. 21.

small wound, with the point of an arrow, or some bullet, then transported, with fury and shame, to perish by so minute an officer of death, they fall to the ground; a description this, very like a *harquebuse* shot. The ten thousand Greeks, in their long and famous retreat, met with a nation who very much galled them with great and strong bows, shooting arrows so long, that, taking them up again, one might return them back like a dart, and therewith pierce a buckler and an armed man through and through. The engines of Dionysius's invention, at Syracuse, to throw vast massy darts, and stones of a prodigious bulk with so great impetuosity, and to so great a distance, came very near to our modern inventions. But, in this discourse of horses and horsemanship, we are not to forget the pleasant posture of one *Maistre Pierre Pol*, a doctor of divinity, upon his mule, which *Monstrelet* reports he always rid with both legs aside, through the streets of Paris, like a woman. He says also, elsewhere *, that the Gascons had terrible horses, that would wheel about in their full speed, which the French, *Pigards*, Dutch, and *Brabanters* thought very miraculous, having not seen the like before; which are his very words. *Cæsar* speaking of the Swedes †: in the charges they make on horse-back, says he ‡, they often threw themselves off to fight on foot, having taught their horses not to stir in the mean time from the place, to which they presently run again upon occasion; and, according to their custom, nothing is so unmanly and so base, as to use saddles, or pads, and they despise such as make use of those conveniences: insomuch that being but a very few in number, they fear not to attack a great many.

That

* Vol. i. c. 66. where to the Gascons, *Monstrelet* adds the Lombards whom Montaigne forgot or omitted on purpose, says the historian, to do the more honour to his countrymen, the Gascons; which whosoever will, may believe, but I cannot prevail with myself to suspect him of such an artifice.

† Read Swabians a people of Germany, whom *Cæsar* expressly calls *Suevorum Gens*. Sweden was not known to the Romans in *Cæsar's* time, which it is likely Montaigne knew very well. The word Swedes therefore must be an error of the press, an error which, however, I have found in all the editions of this book, which I could possibly consult, as well as in the English translation.

‡ *Cæsar's* Comment. lib. iv. de Bello Gallico.

That which I have formerly wondered at, to see a horse made to perform all his exercise, with a switch only, and the reins upon his neck, was common with the Massilians, who rode their horses without saddle or bridle.

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Massilia dorso,
Ora levi flectit, frænorum nescia virga,
Et Numidæ infræni cingunt *.* i. e.

Massilians, who on the bare backs do ride,
And with a switch, not knowing bridles, guide
The manag'd steed, and fierce Numidians too
That use no rein, begirt us round.

Equi sine frænis, deformis ipse cursus, rigida cervice,
& extento capite currentium †. i. e.' The career of a horse without a bridle, is disagreeable, while he carries his neck stiff, and his nose in the air.

King Alphonso, who first instituted the order of knights of the sash or scarf in Spain, amongst other rules gave them this, that they should never ride mule or mullet, upon penalty of a mark of silver; as I lately read in Guevara's letters, of which, whoever gave them the title of Golden Epistles, had another kind of opinion than I have ‡. The courtier says that, till his time, it was a disgrace to a gentleman to ride one of these creatures: but the Abyssines, on the contrary, as they are nearer advanced to the person of Prester John, affect to be mounted upon large mules, for the sake of pomp and dignity.

Xenophon tells us, that the Assyrians were fain to keep their horses fettered in the stable, they were so fierce and vicious; and that it required so much time to loose and to harness them, that to avoid any disorder this delay might bring upon them, in case of surprize

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* Lucan, lib. iv. ver. 682, 683. Virg. Æneid, lib. iv. ver. 41.

† Liv. lib. xxxv. ch. 11.

‡ You will find at the article Guevara, in Bayle's Dictionary, that, from the over fondness of some Frenchmen for Guevara's Letters, the whole French nation has been reproached with it; a groundless reflection, as all those commonly are which tend to blacken whole nations. According to this fine way of reasoning, we have the honour of France repaired now, by the opinion of Montaigne, who sets little value upon Guevara's Letters.

by the enemy, they never lay in their camp, till it was fortified with ditches and ramparts. His Cyrus, who was so great a master of horsemanship, kept his horses from their ordinary allowance, and never suffered them to have any thing to eat till they had earned it by the sweat of some exercise.

The Scythians, when in the field, and in scarcity of provisions, used to draw blood from their horses, which they drank, both for thirst and nourishment ;

Venit & epoto Sarmata pastus equo *. i. e.

Hither the Scythian also steers his course,
Gorg'd with the juices of his bleeding horse.

Those of Crete being besieged by Metellus †, were in so great necessity for drink, that they were fain to quench their thirst with their horses urine.

To shew how much cheaper the Turkish armies support themselves than ours, it is said, that besides that the soldiers drink nothing but water, and eat nothing but rice and salt-flesh minced (of which every one easily scarries with him a month's provision) they know how to feed upon the blood of their horses, as well as the Muscovites and Tartars, and salt it.

Those new discovered people of the Indies, when the Spaniards first landed amongst them, had so great an opinion both of the men and horses, that they looked upon them as Gods, or as animals ennobled above their nature. And some of them, after they were subdued, coming to sue for peace, with presents of gold and provisions, failed not to make an offer of the same to the horses, with the same kind of harangue to the animals, they had made to the men ; interpreting their neighing, for a language of truce and friendship. In the Indies, on this side the Ganges, to ride upon an elephant was the royal and chief honour, the second to ride in a coach with four horses, the third to ride upon a camel, and the last and meanest, to be carried or drawn by one horse only. One of our late writers tells us, that he has seen countries in that climate, where they ride upon oxen, with saddles, stirrups, and bridles, and very much at their ease. Quintus Fabius Max-

imus

* Matt. l. iii. ver. 4.
In Externis, sect. 1.

† Valer. Maxim. lib. vii. ch. 6.

'imus Rutilianus *,' in a battle with the Samnites, seeing his cavalry, after three or four charges, had failed of breaking into the enemy's battalion, made them unbridle their horses, and spur them with all their mettle; so that having † nothing to check their career, through weapons and men overturned, they might open the way for his foot, who, by that means, gained a complete, but bloody victory. The same command was given by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, against the 'Celtiberians: Id cum majore vi equorum facietis, si effrœnatos in hostes equos immittatis: quod sæpe Romanos equites cum laude fecisse memoriæ proditum est. Detrahisque frœnis bis ultro citroque cum magistrage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, transcurrunt ‡. i. e.' Your horses will be of greater service to you, if you spur them unbridled upon the enemy, as it is recorded the Roman horse, to their great glory, have often done. Accordingly, their bridles being pulled off, they charged through and through the enemy, with a great slaughter, without breaking their spears.

The duke of Muscovy § was anciently obliged to pay this reverence to the Tártars, that when they sent an embassy to him, he went out on foot to meet them, and presented them with a goblet of mare's milk (a favourite beverage of theirs) and if, in drinking, a drop fell by chance upon the manes of their horses, he was bound to lick it off with his tongue.

The army that Bajazet had sent into Russia, was overwhelmed with so dreadful a tempest of snow, that, to shelter and preserve themselves from starving with the cold, many killed and ripped out the bowels of their horses, to creep into their bellies, and enjoy their vital heat. Bajazet, after that furious battle, in 1401, wherein he was overthrown by Tamerlane, was in a hopeful way of escaping, by the fleetness of an Arabian mare

* Or rather Rullianus. Titus Livy, lib. vii. ch. 30.

† Idem, Ibid.

‡ Liv. lib. xl. ch. 40.

§ See the Chronicle of Muscovy, by Peter Petrejus, a Swede, printed, in High Dutch, at Leipzig, in 1620, in 4to. part II. p. 159. This species of slavery began about the middle of the thirteenth century, and lasted near 260 years.

mare he had under him, had he not been constrained to let her drink her fill at the fording a brook, which rendered her so faint and dull that he was afterwards easily taken by his pursuers. They say, indeed, that to let a horse stale, takes him off his mettle; but I should rather have thought that drinking would recruit him: Cræsus marching his army over certain commons, near Sardis, met with a great number of serpents, which the horses devoured with great appetite, and which, Herodotus * says, was an ill omen to his affairs. We call a horse Cheval entier, that has his mane and ears entire, and no others will pass muster.

The Lacedæmonians having defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and returning triumphant from the victory, into the city of Syracuse, amongst other insolencies, caused all the horses they had taken to be clipped and led in triumph. Alexander fought with a nation called Dææ; a people whose discipline it was, to march two and two together, armed on horseback, to battle; during which, one always alighted, and so they fought, one while on horseback, and another on foot, each after the other by turns. I do not think that for skill, and for graceful riding, any nation in the world excels the French; though a good horseman, according to our way of speaking, seems rather to respect the courage of the man, than his address in riding. Of all that ever I saw, the most knowing in that art, I think he that had the best seat, and the best method in breaking horses, was Monsieur de Carnavalet, who served our king Henry the second.

I have seen a man gallop, standing with both his feet upon the saddle, take off the saddle, and at his return take it up again, refit it, and remount himself, riding all the while full speed; and having galloped over a bonnet, make very good shoots backward at it with his bow, take up any thing from the ground, setting one foot on the ground, and keeping the other in the stirrup; with such other apes tricks, which he got his living by. There have been seen, in my time, at Constantinople, two men upon one horse, who, in the height of his speed, would throw themselves off, and

* Lib. c. p. 35.

and into the saddle again by turns; and one who bridled and saddled his horse with nothing but his teeth. Another, who betwixt two horses, one foot upon one saddle, and another upon the other, carrying a person upon his shoulders, would ride full speed, the other standing bolt upright upon him, making very sure shoots with his bow. Several who would ride full speed with their heels upwards, and their heads upon the saddle, betwixt several scymiters, with the points upward, fixed in the harness. When I was a boy, the prince of Sulmone breaking a rough horse at Naples to all his airs, fixed reals to his knees and toes, as if they had been nailed there, to shew the firmness of his feat.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.



A COMPLETE

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REMARKABLE MATTERS

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